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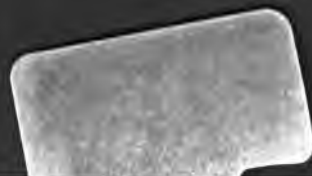
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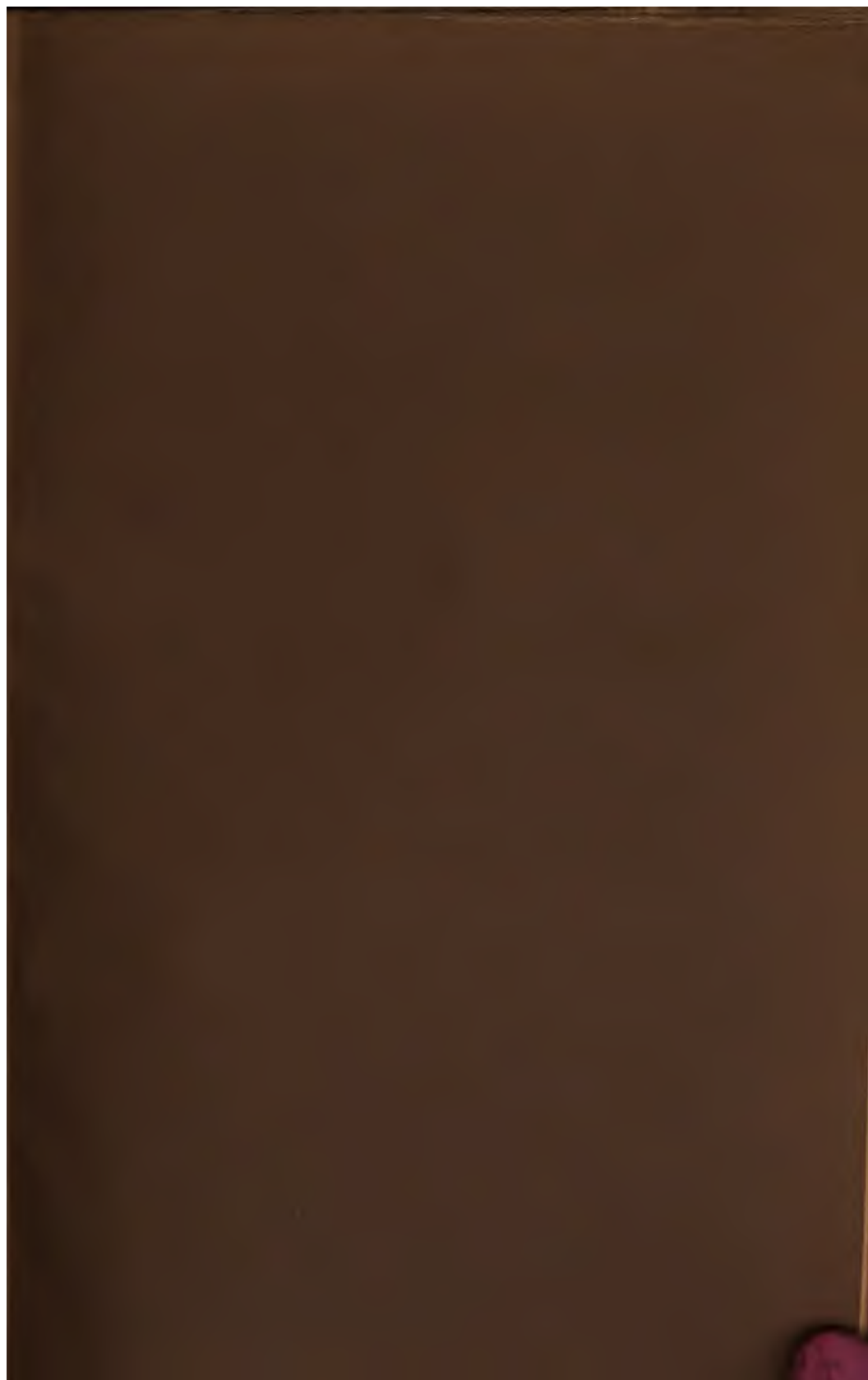
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EWALD'S
HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

VOL. II.

LONDON : PRINTED BY
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THE
HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

BY
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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

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*'The Old Testament will still be a New Testament to him who comes with a fresh
desire of information' FULLER.*

VOL. II.
Joshua and the Judges.



LONDON:
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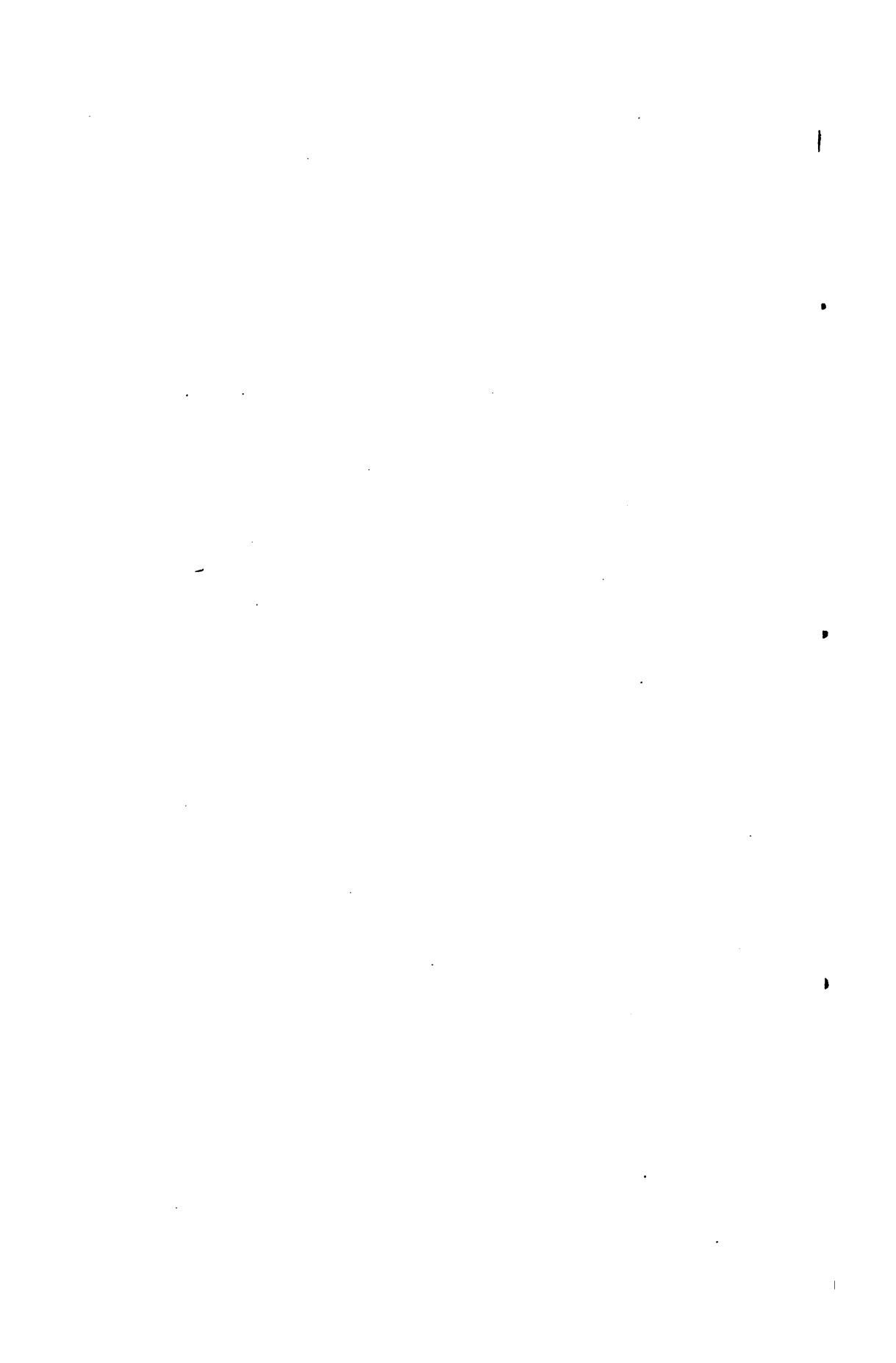


P R E F A C E.

THE FIRST VOLUME of this History was a translation of the first volume and the first half of the second volume of the author's 'Geschichte des Volkes Israel.' Its rapid sale having called for a new edition, it was deemed desirable to add the concluding portion of the second volume of the original, thus rendering it a complete history of Israel down to the commencement of the Monarchy. This additional portion is here published separately as a second volume to the first edition, for the benefit of the possessors of that volume. Their indulgence must be craved for the inequality in the size of the volumes, which would of course have been otherwise arranged, could it have been foreseen that the work would reach a second edition.

This volume contains a longer dissertation by the Editor on the Divine Name, in which he has attempted to do more justice to the argument and set the matter in a clearer light, than was done in the short note prefixed to the former volume. It also contains a complete Index to the two volumes, which supersedes that previously given.

Nov. 1868.



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HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

BOOK II. (*Continued*).

THE THEOCRACY.

C. THE GREAT VICTORIES, AND THE NEW HOME, UNDER JOSHUA'S LEADERSHIP.

I. AUTHORITIES RESPECTING JOSHUA.

JOSHUA (or, according to the later pronunciation, Jeshua)¹ was honoured by the ancient world as Completer of Moses' work—not indeed the inner, but the outer work—so far as completion was possible in those early days. The best proof of this is the fact, that all the important historical works which have come down to us respecting Moses, follow up his life immediately by the career of Joshua; thus closing with him the cycle of Mosaic history. This is capable of demonstration from all the authorities which have been described at i. p. 438 sqq. in reference to Moses.

As the principal portion of our history now passes over to a country whose inhabitants had already attained a high degree of culture and literary power, we might hope henceforward to obtain Canaanite or Phenician, as well as Biblical, records. And if indeed (to say nothing of Sanchoniathon) we still possessed the histories of Theodotus, Hypsicrates and Mochus, which Asitus translated into Greek, and which appear to have comprehended even the very earliest times;² or had Josephus, instead of commencing his extracts from such writings with the reign of Solomon, allowed us also to participate in the information given by them respecting antecedent periods; we should doubtless find invaluable memorials of an event which stood alone in its influence on the whole destiny of the Canaanites. But of all these treasures, nothing now remains to us. We

¹ This appears first in Neh. viii. 17; but the LXX. have always 'Ιησοῦς, as also Heb. iv. 8 and the Christian Fathers. 'Ιαροῦς, Sibyll. ii. 248, is a curious modification, which has been retained only in Ethiopic.

² Eusebius *Præp. Evang.* x. 11 and Clemens Alex. *Strom.* i. 21. The two first Greek names must, therefore, be translations of Phenician names, such as *Mutumbal*.

might indeed still retain one memorial of the mighty convulsion produced by the first violent irruption of Israel on the Canaanites, could we place dependence on a very late account,¹ according to which the Phenicians, when they found Joshua's warriors irresistible, migrated first to Egypt, and then, finding the country too densely peopled for them, went further, and overspread the whole of Libya (i.e. Africa) as far as the Pillars of Hercules, retaining everywhere their own language; and built in Numidia a fortress Tigisis (or Tingis); where, as late as the sixth century after Christ, were discovered, near a great well, two pillars of white stone bearing in Phenician the inscription: 'We are those who fled from before the robber Jeshus son of Naue.' But, however intrinsically probable it may be that the Canaanites, forced back upon a narrow strip of sea-coast, should be driven to think of emigration, yet the inscription itself, and consequently the whole narrative (for all hinges upon the inscription), bears so evidently the colour of fiction,² that it is impossible to found anything upon it. Similar narratives of a simpler character³ are indeed met with in somewhat earlier writers; but these, though referring to quite different regions, are very deficient in special

¹ In Procopius' *History of the Vandal War* ii. 10, where he explains the origin of the Moors. He also says that Phenicia then extended to the borders of Egypt, and that, according to the testimony of all writers on its earliest history, it had originally but one king. What an extraordinarily early period these historians must surely have been speaking of! What Suidas says s. v. *Xavadv* is derived from the same authority; and Evagrius *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 18 expressly says that he had met with this statement nowhere but in Procopius. Moses Chorenensis, *Hist. Arm.* i. 17, however, gives the same account, and also the Talmud *Jer. Sheb.* vi. in a briefer form.

² How could an inscription possibly have been composed in this form? In any case, this must be allowed to be only the general purport, not the full and literal expression. But this concession deprives the account of all reliability for us who are unable to compare the inscription for ourselves; especially when we reflect that even in Procopius' days the reading of early Phenician inscriptions was no easy matter. And, in addition to this, not only does the entire story, on closer examination, point to a Biblical source, but even the forms *Ἰησοῦς* for Joshua and *Ναυή* for Nun in the inscription are taken simply from the LXX. This *Ναυή* of the LXX. does not seem to have

arisen from a mere slip of the pen, *ΝΑΥΗ* for *ΝΑΥΝ*; for Josephus also writes *Ναυή*, and therefore must have pronounced the Hebrew word נָחַךְ like נָחַךְ, *Idem*, *Josh.* xv. 36; and נָחַךְ, now found only in the *Haagiographa* 1 Chron. vii. 27, comes very near to this pronunciation. The final letters of non-Greek names at that time underwent many mutations: *n, m, s*, were gradually dropped; thus *Φινεῖς* as dat. of *Φινεῖς* *פִּינְחָס* in Philo's *Life of Moses* i. 55; *Kals* as nom. of *Cain* in Josephus *Ant.* i. 2; as likewise *Σουνή* from *Sunem*, *ibid.* vi. 14, 2, and *Δαση* for *דָּשָׁן* LXX. Gen. x. 12; *Βηθσαμὴ* from *Bethshemesh* in *Jos. Ant.* vi. 1. 3. It is true that Josephus and others formed also such proper names as *Σιλαμ* from *שִׁילָח*, *Νοῦμος* from *נָח*, *Βασαρός*, *Ἀσαρός*, from *בַּעֲשָׂה*, *מַדָּנ*, *Μαχαρή* from *מַעֲרָה*; not to speak of such forms as *Γιττινός* a man of *Gitta* (Gath) *Θεσσαρής* from *תְּשָׁרַי*; but we have no proof that the *n* in *נָח* did not originally belong to the name.

³ As the brief account that Tripolis in Africa was founded by Canaanites who fled before Joshua, in Eusebius *Chron. Gr.* ed. Scaliger p. 11 (wanting in the Armenian translation). Also a noble race in Armenia claimed a similar origin; see Moses Chorenensis i. 19 (pp. 91, 145, 158). *Zeits. f. d. Kunde d. Morgentl.* i. (1837) p. 251.

details, and may have originated only in vague general conjectures, such as abound in late works. Our authorities on this portion of history are thus virtually limited to the Biblical records.

On examining these, we are struck, in the present Book of Joshua, with a number of narratives which, notwithstanding their brevity, are entitled to rank very high for perspicuity and historical antiquity. They are now scattered pretty freely through the whole book, from the fragment respecting the renewal of circumcision and the first Passover in the Holy Land,¹ to that which relates the arrogance of Joseph's descendants.² The first fragment belongs clearly to the same early narrator who elsewhere³ employs the same expressions in speaking of circumcision (whereas in the Book of Origins (Gen. xvii.) such subjects are treated in a very different tone); and the scattered passages in ch. xv-xvii, which for the most part recur in Judges i, belong certainly to the same ancient work, as will be yet more evident as we proceed. The fragments of this ancient record interwoven with ch. x-xii, relating to the history of Joshua's victories, are the most difficult of recognition; but a key to their correct interpretation is found in the catalogue in xii. 9-24 of the thirty-one royal Canaanite cities conquered by Joshua: a record of remarkable interest in many ways. Its distinctive antiquity would be sufficiently evident from its enumeration of cities which in those early days were great and powerful, but which afterwards sank into absolute insignificance, or were never heard of again;⁴ and yet the general style of this catalogue is not that to which we are accustomed in the Book of Origins. But if we compare this document with the previous accounts of Joshua's victories (ch. vi-xi), we find a perfect correspondence in the course of the narrative. From Jericho and Ai, ver. 9, the enumeration passes to the southern cities, vv. 10-16, and then returns from Bethel northward, vv. 16-24, without however adopting the order habitual to the Book of Origins. From this circumstance, and from the very nature of such a dry catalogue of royal names, it is further obvious that the list had no ulterior aim, but was merely designed as a concluding retrospect, winding up the history of Joshua's victories with a recapitulation of the many kings whose subjugation had been previously narrated at greater length. And we see in fact, from

¹ Josh. v. 2-12.

² Josh. xvii. 14-18.

³ Ex. iv. 24-26.

⁴ As Madon xi. 1, xii. 19; Shimron-Meron xii. 20. Even were the last-named

place identical with Shimron in the tribe of Zebulun, xix. 15, we still could not regard the Book of Origins as the original source.

x. 1, 3, 33, xi. 1, that the author himself was acquainted with the names of those kings, whom for brevity's sake he omits in the list; while later historians have doubtless not thought it worth while to particularise such old-world names.¹ But though this ancient document is plainly intended only as a supplementary review of all the kings previously mentioned, we find in the present accounts in ch. vi-xi. many, but not nearly all of the thirty-one royal cities² enumerated; the original histories of Joshua's victories, of which we have here the concluding summary, must therefore have been of a different, and sometimes more detailed, character than those which we now possess in ch. vi-xi. On the other hand, by comparing this summary of the thirty-one conquered kings with the accounts in Judges i. derived from the same old record, we learn that it comprehends only a certain number of Canaanite kings, but not all those who were conquered in old times, and partially after Joshua's day. Neither the mighty king of Bezek,³ nor the princes of Gaza, Askelon, or Ekron,⁴ swell this list of thirty-one; which must inevitably have been the case, had not the historian maintained a strict distinction between those conquered by Joshua himself and those subjugated later. The faint traces of mythic story, combining with these more accurate reminiscences, as when the final rout and overthrow of the Amorites is ascribed to a supernatural descent of stones showered down upon them from heaven,⁵ point to a primitive age, when the conception of great epochal events is very vivid, but as yet unfixed and unsettled. All thus combines to identify the record so happily preserved to us, as the original basis of the accounts extant in ch. vi-viii, x, xi. which retain besides, even in their later form, many vestiges of the modes of thought and expression⁶ by which the ancient document is characterised. A

¹ Comp. vi. 2, viii. 1 sq., 14, 23, 29; the similar passage ix. 1 is, on the other hand, from the Deuteronomist.

² The important royal cities in the north especially are very briefly noticed in ch. xi.

³ Judges i. 4-7.

⁴ Judges i. 18.

⁵ Josh. x. 11.

⁶ The expression *לפי חרב* according to the edge of the sword, i.e. without sparing, which is very characteristic of these passages: viii. 24, x. 28, 30, 32, 35, 37, 39, xi. 11, 12, 14, Num. xxi. 24, and which not infrequently recurs in later books, is foreign to the Book of Origins; for the only passage which might be adduced to the contrary, Josh. xix. 47, may be based upon earlier authorities. Equally

foreign to the Book of Origins, and characteristic of these passages, is the phrase

לֹא הִשְׁאִיר לוֹ שְׂרִיד he left none over to escape from it, x. 28, 30, 33, 37, 39, 40, xi. 8 (comp. viii. 22), Num. xxi. 35, although the Deuteronomist may often have repeated such antique expressions on his own account; further, the unusual expression *הִקְטִים*, of the divine, i.e. irresistible expulsion of an enemy: x. 10, Ex. xiv. 24, xxiii. 27. In the subject-matter likewise, there are many peculiarities; as in the command, not elsewhere mentioned in such a connection, to hough the captured horses of the enemy: xi. 6, 9; see also 2 Sam. viii. 4; whereas the later narrator (vi. 8) gives different directions about the booty; also in the mention of

very important monument of that old-world history is in fact rescued to us therein; and these disjointed fragments are important in precisely inverse proportion to their small bulk and narrow scope, as compared with the mass of other authorities.

From the Book of Origins many important sections have been interpolated, distinguishable by all the characteristic peculiarities above explained, and especially by the pervading aim—to invest the abiding realities of Law and Duty with the charms of picturesque and appropriate incident. The story of Achan, fraudulently possessing himself of certain articles out of the accursed spoil of Ai, then speedily overtaken by exposure and retribution through the judgments brought upon the whole community by his sacrilege; and that of the Gibeonites, who by fraudulent devices obtained the safety of their lives in a subject condition, and were held to be legally entitled thereto because the oath of alliance had been already taken by the rulers of the nation,—are exquisite specimens of this author's historic method, which everywhere exhibits in real life the principles sanctioned by the Mosaic legislation; even here, after Moses' death, we seem to be still listening to the selfsame voice, expounding and illustrating by captivating narrative the duties and rights of the community. Thus the accounts given by this historian towards the end, respecting the partition of the land among the twelve tribes (always with due regard to the special claims of Caleb and Joshua), xiii-xix; respecting the appointment of priestly cities and cities of refuge, xx. sq.; and the position, as auxiliaries, of the two and a half tribes beyond the Jordan, xx; and respecting the death of Joshua and Eleazar, xxiv, xxix. sq., xxxii. sq., are but the necessary completion of what has been already commenced and anticipated in the earlier portions of his great work; and whenever it here becomes possible to represent with somewhat freer touch the feelings and motives of the actors in this stirring drama, as in the splendid picture of the struggle between the tribes on either side of the Jordan (ch. xxii), the large heart of this historian shows itself in sublimest touches.

From the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Narrators proceed those detailed accounts which are obviously only an amplification and rehabilitation of some earlier and briefer record. To the Third is probably due the story of the spies and their adventures

'the barren mountain that rises towards Seir,' as the southernmost point of the Holy Land (xi. 17, xii. 7), where the Book of Origins would probably have spoken of the desert of Zin. The following are also uncommon words: עֹבֵר *produce, fruit*, v. 11, 12; תְּנוּעָאֵת, as *growths, fruits, advantages*, xvii. 18; and צָר *to be narrow*, xvii. 16; הִקְסִית *xv. 18, Judges i. 14.*

with the harlot Rahab in ch. ii; to the Fourth, that of the miraculous fall of Jericho in ch. vi, and the account of the stratagem by which the fortress of Ai eventually fell before Joshua in ch. viii. The Fifth Narrator here heightens the effect of the picture by the introduction of an entirely new figure—that of an angel of war,¹ who appeared to Joshua at Jericho; and it was doubtless he who first collected and combined the fragments of the earliest record with the later authorities, and thus prepared for the Deuteronomist an ample treasury of materials.

And finally, the Deuteronomist introduces sometimes passages of considerable length, and still more frequently short additional notices, all designed to present in Joshua's history a living example of the power and victory which might accrue to a popular leader acting in accordance with Deuteronomistic ideas. In this sense he prefixes in chap. i. a sublime prelude to Joshua's public entrance on his career, and closes his public life with similar, only fuller and more urgent exhortations from the mouth of the aged leader in ch. xxiii and xxiv.; and even at the beginning of ch. xxii. he adds something of his own. In the middle of the work also some passages have been inserted and others recast and described in his peculiar style; and many indications tend to show that the portions viii. 30–ix. 2 and x–xiii. 14 owe largely to him their language and arrangement, though not much of their subject-matter.²

¹ Josh. v. 13–15, a passage which might be supposed to be an imitation of Ex. iii. 1 sqq., and to spring from no earlier writer than the Deuteronomist; but it has obviously been curtailed by that writer at the end, since there can be no doubt that fuller particulars were here given of the unexplained holy place mentioned in ver. 15, accompanied by such admonitions from the Deuteronomist as we now find in ch. i.

² It is evident that the passage about Mounts Ebal and Gerizim in viii. 30–35 was interpolated by him. From him is also derived the extant elaboration (iii. sq.) of the earlier and much simpler account of the passage over the Jordan, as is clear from the mention of 'Levite priests' (iii. 3; comp. viii. 33), and from other indications; we might thus be induced to attribute to him also the mention of the priests and the Ark of the Covenant at the conquest of Jericho in ch. vi, were it not that no further trace of his hand is discoverable there. As the Deuteronomist in this book often tacks on his own words to the thread of the earlier narratives, it is often difficult to distinguish and separate them with any certainty; but we shall scarcely be wrong in ascribing to

him the following scattered interpolations: the perpetual exhortations to take courage, so characteristic of the Deuteronomist, viii. 1, x. 8, 25, and similar admonitions to keep the Law, as vv. 1–8, forming the whole introduction to the narrative in ch. xxii, which have been greatly altered by him; the reiterated assertion that the tribe of Levi had no inheritance among the tribes, but that the two and a) half tribes beyond the Jordan were included in Moses' scheme, xii. 6, xiii. 8 (where the thread of the discourse is broken and the original connection wanting), 14 (just as in Deut. xviii. 2), 33, xiv. 3, 4, xviii. 7; the too general statements respecting the extent of Joshua's conquests, x. 40–42, and similarly xi. 20 (comp. Deut. vii. 2); the disposal of the booty, and the annihilation of 'every breath,' viii. 2, 27 sq., xi. 11, 13–16, (comp. Deut. xx. 14–16, xiii. 17 [16], where also *עֲלֵם הָאָדָם* corresponds); the legal regulation that the corpse of the crucified must be taken down before sunset, viii. 29, x. 27) comp. Deut. xxi. 22, 23); and the constant appellation 'Servant of Jahveh' for Moses or Joshua (comp. Deut.

But, however long the interval and wide the discrepancy between the first and the last of these Narrators, it is demonstrable even within this narrow range, that far earlier memories of Joshua's great deeds must have preceded even the Earliest. In ch. x, in the middle of the narrative, vv. 12-15 have been interpolated by the latest hand¹ from the ancient 'Book of the Upright,' which transports us back into the old days of Joshua far more vividly than all the rest of the narrative, comparatively early as even this was written down. The passage in which sun and moon stand still at Joshua's bidding, considered apart from the additions made by the Last Narrator, is indisputably a valuable memorial of the earliest conception of a great day of battle and victory under Joshua's leadership; clothed indeed in poetic colouring, but with a distinctness and reality which only contemporaries could assign to it and perpetuate in an historical song. But even from this sole remaining fragment we have a right to conclude, that an age which could produce such traditions must have been one of extraordinary grandeur. Combining now the manifold scattered traces which may help us to a comprehension of its character, so far as they appear to afford any certain guidance, we obtain the following picture.

II. JOSHUA, AND HIS VICTORIES AS A WHOLE.

Joshua the son of Nun sprang from an ancient illustrious family of the tribe of Ephraim; twelve generations carried back his genealogy to the Patriarch Joseph, and the incidental way in which this fact is mentioned² makes it certain that much more than has come down to us was formerly told of him and his family. His first appearance in the Book of Origins occurs at that critical moment in the life of Moses, when, at the southern frontier of Canaan, the people rebelled against him, just when he was about to lead them on to the accomplishment of their own most cherished wishes.³ He had at that time been chosen to represent his own tribe as one of the twelve pioneers

xxxiv. 6). The same traces may be distinguished even in single words; as for instance the Book of Origins uses the word נחלה, for *inheritance, possession*; while the Deuteronomist in Deut. and in Josh. i. 16, xii. 6, 7, prefers נחלת.

¹ That the verses in Josh. x. 12-15 are a later insertion, is evident, both from the complete break which they occasion in the narrative, and from the compiler having obviously only borrowed ver. 15 from 43, as if he contemplated a summary conclusion,

though he afterwards went on at length from 16 to 43. The only possible doubt would be whether the passage was interpolated by the Fifth or by the Last Narrator; but the nature and the language of the additions afford preponderating evidence in favour of the latest compiler of the work.

² 1 Chron. vii. 23-27, comp. with Num. ii. 18, is our only extant authority for this. On the number of generations comp. i. p. 402.

³ Num. xiii. sq.

deputed by the tribes to reconnoitre the land. He must therefore have been already a man of mark; but this trial first showed him, conjointly with Caleb of the tribe of Judah, as the undaunted leader, who remained firm and collected amid pusillanimity and perversity on the part of the people, and bewilderment even on the part of their leaders. It is a fine conception of this book to represent him as then for the first time receiving from Moses himself the name which he subsequently rendered so illustrious, and Moses as recognising the hero's true greatness, and bestowing on him his rightful designation. Instead of Hosea, i.e. *Help*, as he was still called when deputed by his tribe, Moses entitled him on his return, with little change of sound, but with significant heightening of meaning, Joshua, i.e. *God's help*.¹ In the same sense, and in this same Book of Origins, we find him, together with Eleazar the priest, solemnly instituted by Moses himself shortly before his death as the true leader (or Duke) of the people, and accepted as such by the community.²

To the Third and Fourth Narrators, on the other hand, Joshua is from the first the indispensable attendant and 'servant of Moses;' a recognised character resembling a lesser star revolving round a greater, which at the time of these writers was as inseparable from the idea of Moses as the greater leader, as the 'Servant' or 'Disciple,' and the followers, of a great Prophet from that of the Prophet himself.³ We no longer know whether these Narrators mentioned any special occasion which led to a more confidential connection between Joshua and his master; but they certainly assign this position to him before the arrival at Sinai and during the sojourn there.

Even from the earlier narrative we see clearly, that at the

¹ Num. xiii. 8, 16. The account (ver. 16) in its present position appears certainly somewhat unconnected; but there can be no doubt as to its correct meaning. This bestowal of a new name has the same significance as in the cases of Abraham and Israel in this same Book of Origins, Gen. xvii, xxxv; and both there and here the distinction between the two names is scrupulously preserved in the composition and orthography of the book itself. In actual use, the name Hosea as the ordinary abbreviation, and Joshua as the dignified appellation, stood in much the same mutual relation as Abram and Abraham, although it is certain (i. p. 579 sq.) that *Joshua* was in Moses' time an entirely new name, of exalted meaning.

² Num. xxvii. 16-23, xxxii. 28; the former passage with the preceding verses

12-15 is obviously placed too early in the present text, if only from the circumstance that Moses gains the victory over Midian without Joshua, and accompanied only by Eleazar, Num. xxxi.; its proper place seems to be before ch. xxxii. It is however a great mistake in Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 7. 2) and other later writers, to suppose Joshua to have been equal to Moses, even in the prophetic character. On the contrary, according to the Book of Origins, he was only appointed military chief of the people, and was referred for direction to the oracles of the High Priest. And, indeed, unless this is borne in mind, the whole subsequent history remains obscure.

³ Ex. xvii. 9-13, xxiv. 13, xxxii. 17, xxxviii. 11, where he appears always as the 'disciple' or 'pupil' (Gen. xxxvii. 2) of the great master.

moment of Moses' death Joshua was the right leader to carry on to completion the purpose which had taken full possession of that age. For all historical evidence goes to prove that ever since the deliverance from Egypt the one earthly object held in view by the people, including both Moses and Joshua, was the conquest and occupation of Canaan. This has been already remarked, i. p. 584, but a further consideration of its grounds is here incumbent upon us, especially as the Bible itself does not disdain to adduce several such. Now the principal ground which it alleges for the invasion is the Divine Will: the promise, given in old time by Jahveh to the Patriarchs, and again more explicitly announced to the people through Moses, that Israel, when delivered out of Egypt, should again possess the land of their fathers, he now redeems by Joshua; who thus receives from him the command to combat the Canaanites without fear. And such is in fact the true religious aspect of this event, as it would necessarily be regarded under the higher religion, and within the community of Israel; though from this very religious character its full meaning far transcends this special application, and embodies a universal truth. For it is an eternal necessity, that a nation such as the great majority of the Canaanites then were,¹ sinking deeper and deeper into a slough of discord and moral perversity, must fall before a people roused to a higher life by the newly-wakened energy of unanimous trust in Divine Power. Should it not fall in the first encounter of battle, it must eventually succumb, imperceptibly yet surely, even amid apparent peace; as we see in the case of many a nation of modern Europe. Israel under Joshua now experienced this truth in relation to the Canaanites, as strongly as any nation can possibly experience it to its own advantage; and Israel not only experienced it, but was compelled by its peculiar religion to recognise it in all its force. If from the very beginning it must have powerfully felt that not by its own weapons, but by a great over-ruling Power, the wondrous conquest had been achieved; an historian somewhat removed from the time of these events might ascribe them to a direct command from God to Joshua. But then this elevating view is counterbalanced by a rightful fear of losing this possession received from God, through causes similar to those which had occasioned the grant; and the Prophets in succeeding centuries constantly threaten the nation, that it, again becoming like the early Canaanites, will be driven forth by Jahveh out of the fair

¹ See i. p. 240 sq. A later description succinctly in the Wisdom of Solomon of this depraved state of morals is given xii. 2-6.

land, just as they, abandoned by their deities, formerly fled trembling before Israel.¹

This higher view of the conquest, which pervades the Bible, obviously by no means interferes with our consideration of its temporal and national bearings, and we are not only permitted, but indeed compelled, to enquire more closely why the Divine judgment was directed so especially against Canaan. Here then we must needs look back upon the general relations between those countries, the main force of which had subsisted for centuries. If the Hyksôs, the rulers of Egypt, were the peoples with which they were identified at i. p. 388 sqq., then the non-Israelite Hebraic nations, repulsed from Egypt some ages before the Exodus, must have established themselves in those regions of Asia where we find them to have been long settled before the time of Moses: principally Midian, Moab-Ammon, and Edom. The nations comprehended under the name of Canaanites, formerly free to spread in all directions (i. p. 232 sqq.), now retreated before this returning tide into the land between the Jordan and the sea,² and there maintained their footing more tenaciously for whole centuries, up to the time of Moses. They also undoubtedly took possession of all the places vacated by the ancestors of the present people of Israel in their gradual movement towards Egypt. Now when Israel, the youngest Hebraic nation, on its departure from Egypt, returned upon the track of the other Hebraic nations, desirous (as we have already seen, i. p. 622 sq.) to avoid any direct collision with these; the question immediately arose, whether to remain satisfied with a nomadic life in the desert, compelling the remnant of aboriginal inhabitants there scattered, such as the Amalekites, to tolerate their presence, or to seek out a land suitable for a settled life. But for a desert-life Israel manifestly felt herself already too far advanced in civilisation. Though as yet by no means so attached to a quiet industrial town-life as the Egyptians and the Canaanites; desiring a life of greater freedom and movement, and fewer ties to the narrow house; they had yet felt from time immemorial³

¹ Amos ii. 9-16; Hosea (see above, i. p. 644), Isaiah xvii. 9, and elsewhere.

² In the Old Testament the name Canaan in its strict sense is confined to the country on the western side of the Jordan and Dead Sea, as is particularly shown by the boundaries mentioned in Num. xxxiv. 12.

³ We have already seen (i. p. 428) that in Egypt Israel was an agricultural as well as pastoral people; and if its origin as a nation was due to Canaan, as shown in

vol. i. p. 381 sqq., it can never from the very first have been a mere wandering tribe like the Arabs of the Desert. The distinction between the nomadic and the agricultural tribes of antiquity goes back beyond all known history; but many nations fluctuate for a time between the two modes of life, and the districts on the borders of the Arabian deserts favour such fluctuation; indeed there are even now tracts in Hauran where any one may sow at his pleasure. The allotment of cul-

the value of a combination of agriculture and pasturage, and the recent legislation under Moses only strengthened the bias towards a quiet settled existence.¹ Agriculture and pasturage, coupled always with the power of easy and prompt movement in making war and camping out, were then clearly the demands of the national life. Even the two tribes Reuben and Gad, which as we have seen (i. p. 630) preferred the care of flocks and herds to the tillage of the soil, were by no means disposed to live as Arabs of the desert. Thus an encampment in the desert could be regarded by such a people only as a temporary necessity: which is precisely what we gather from their early legends. And desiring, as we have already said, to leave the cognate races of Edom, Moab, and Ammon, undisturbed in the districts where they had been so long settled, Israel actually found no land but Canaan for occupation. It was indeed the natural progress of national relations that the Canaanites should now at last be assailed even in the land of the Jordan by an Hebraic nation. Such struggles between great nationalities, especially in times when mutual ill-will has produced violent hostility, are not to be judged by the laws of ordinary proprietorship; and the return of Israel out of Egypt into Canaan, was plainly but the last link of a chain of similar movements, somewhat like the movement of the Franks in relation to those of the other German tribes. But the old traditions of the Patriarchs' residence in Canaan, and of their venerated sepulchres there, must now have acquired for their descendants a new importance. And this justifiable feeling of the importance of the remotest historical claims accounts for the fulness with which the extant narratives respecting the Premosaic period note the possessions, and especially the burial-places, of the Patriarchs in Canaan; much as the Germans in the Middle Ages could look back upon the countries then occupied by the Western Slavonians, as their own original possessions.²

This fruitfulest, but hardest of conquest, of all the lands in those parts was thus to become the possession of the youngest Hebraic people. Worthy was it to be dearly won, the hard-earned prize of forty years' wanderings, toil, and struggle. That on this goal the gaze of Moses was ever rivetted, has been sufficiently proved in the foregoing pages. Yet here also

tivable lands in settled hereditary possessions forms the real transition from nomad to settled life; and this began in the people of Israel with Joshua.

¹ Even the very earliest legislation assumes the existence of agriculture, Lev. xix. 10, 19.

² And thus the ancient theological dispute, whether Israel possessed Canaan by divine or human right, comes to nothing; but so long as 'divine right' was understood as simple caprice, a solution was impossible.

he shows himself a great and true prophet, in that he abstains strictly from offensive warfare, and fights only when attacked. And as if an overruling Providence saw fit to spare him, even at the last, what he had ever shrunk from, he dies upon the frontier-shore of the Jordan; and some tracts on the other side were actually conquered by the younger generation while their aged Prophet was passing to his rest. But now, in full sight of their last earthly goal, it was impossible, after the last outbreak, any longer to restrain the people, impatient at last to conquer and possess. Now therefore Joshua—not a prophet, but a mere warrior—stands at their head. The fire of conquest, kindled beyond the Jordan by hostile attacks in the last days of Moses, now spreads across the river; and Jahveh becomes, even more than then, the God of Battles. Yet, amid the ever-darkening picture of the increasing savagery of an age of war, there still shines many a ray of the spiritual grandeur called into existence by Moses; and thus, even after the most searching scrutiny, the age of Joshua must ever appear to us a bright afterglow from the setting sun of the Mosaic age. Islâm, in like manner, had no sooner taken firm root and understood its position in the world, than it rushed with irresistible force of arms beyond its first bounds. A certain similarity there undeniably is between Jahveism and Islâm, in the fresh heroic zeal with which both inspired their early adherents. Of what a nation is capable, when it first feels perfect satisfaction in a new and sublime idea, when old grievances and dissensions and the petty aims of common life disappear before an all-elevating yet all-equalising truth, when one powerful will inspires all to strive after the same lofty aim, is seen in both these Semitic nations, at the moment when the first glory of a higher religion dawned upon either. And again, as in Islâm the mighty outward impulse first awoke during the latter days of Mohammed, after his religion had triumphed in its home-circle, and was rather unloosed than impeded by his death; so Jahveism only girded itself for foreign conquest at the very end of Moses' life, and then, so far from being deterred by his death, pressed forward the more eagerly to its next earthly aim, strengthened and confirmed by its forty years' ordeal. But these points of resemblance are counterbalanced by disparities quite as great. For Islâm, its fundamental idea not being really superior to the Judaism and Christianity which it opposed, is less calm and clearly defined than Jahveism; and hence its external efforts were directed to no clearly recognised and attainable

object, but wasted an apparently immeasurable force upon cloudy impossibilities. Jahveism, on the other hand, standing in no such antagonism to an earlier religion, sought only some spot upon earth where it might take root and develop itself freely, in the first instance in the bosom of one nation consecrated to that end. It therefore impelled the people of Israel to seek some land of permanent possession, where they might have free play for the growth of that higher civilisation which is impossible in the desert. For the time this only was their one definite, indispensable object; and now, in the flush of unaccustomed victory, their eyes were still fixed on this single indispensable earthly aim. That goal was reached, after forty years of desert-wandering had ripened their spirits to appreciate the higher blessings of religion, and hardened their bodies to every form of toil and privation; whereas, had the conquest of Canaan been achieved in the second year of the Exodus, for instance (i. p. 611 sq.), while all was still untried and untempered enthusiasm, they would probably have enjoyed but a temporary possession of the beautiful land of promise.

That this first irruption into Canaan under Joshua was decisive for all future time, and that the Canaanites were never able in succeeding ages to rally permanently from the losses and disasters which they then underwent, is unquestionable. But if we look to the means by which such great results were achieved, we may probably marvel as much as on beholding the weapons with which the Ditmarschers and the Swiss of old defended their native land. The Canaanites (as shown at vol. i. p. 240 sq.) had then attained their highest point, not only of general culture but of warlike skill too, and were distinguished among the nations by their wealth in horses and chariots, their numerous fortresses, and the frequent confederacies of their kings. The Hebrews, on the other hand, were not defending a country of their own, but were themselves invaders, and therefore doubtless far inferior in local knowledge. Unequal in arms and tactics, they could oppose to the Canaanites only courage and confidence; armed still with the rudest weapons, such as they had brought with them from Egypt, fighting only on foot, and proud of this mode of warfare, they houghed (says the First Narrator) the horses and burnt the chariots captured from the enemy.¹ By such primitive weapons, indeed, must the entire conquest have been accomplished; for down to much later times the same rude arms, and the same repugnance to horses, chariots, and fortifications,² maintained their hold over

¹ Josh. xi. 6, 9, comp. xvii. 15-18. See i. p. 578.

² Comp. Josh. x. 20.

the people as traditions consecrated by antiquity. The same contrast between Hebrew and Canaanite warriors still existed in the times of the Judges, the great men riding asses rather than horses, according to the picturesque description in the song of Deborah,¹ to say nothing of Samgar's and Samson's weapons. Even David still follows the military usages of the earlier national heroes.² And when at length Solomon introduced some innovations, the memories of their ancestors' simple military greatness still floated at least before the eyes of the Prophets down to the time of Isaiah and Micah.³ But from this one clear indication we may easily infer the infinite courage and pure confidence that inspired the victorious multitude under Joshua's leadership. We thus understand how the walls of Jericho fell before their mighty trumpet-peal; how, in Isaiah's words,⁴ bush and tree, high and low, became desolate before the advance of the children of Israel; or how, according to the Deuteronomist, the Canaanites could fly before the light van-guard of Israel, stung and scattered as by swarms of hornets.⁵ The singular strictness of discipline, illustrated in the Books of Origins (Josh. vii.) by one striking example, is another proof of the strong national feeling, which ensured the willing submission of every warrior—that is, of every man capable of bearing arms.

A great historical event, like this conquest and permanent occupation of Canaan by Israel, must indeed be initiated in every case by a fortunate concurrence of very various impulses and circumstances. But among all the motives by which the nation was influenced, none thrust more home than the struggle

¹ Judges v. 8, 10, comp. 22, where **דָּוִם** (*Lehrb.* § 176 b) must signify the *horses* of the Canaanites, and the following **אֲפִירָיו** therefore *their* (the horses') *most powerful ones*, or the strongest and most enduring horses.

² 2 Sam. viii. 4; comp. Ps. xx. 8 [7].

³ See p. 130 sq. That riding upon asses' colts was in the early ages after Moses a particular distinction of the nobles, is also seen from Judges x. 4, xii. 14, Josh. xv. 18; and if the use of the ass instead of the horse thus distinguished Israel from the Egyptians and other heathen, this would explain the origin of scoffing sayings respecting Mosaic antiquity, such as those already mentioned at i. p. 510, which doubtless originated in Egypt.

⁴ Is. xvii. 9.

⁵ This image is employed in Josh. xxiv. 12, in a perfectly simple narrative, with-

out any figurative embellishment; so that the literalists of our day must take it as an actual occurrence, just as they take the falling of the walls of Jericho. The Deuteronomist also (Deut. vii. 20) borrows the image from the words of the First Narrator, Ex. xxiii. 28, where it is used in a passage of prophetic tone. But an image of this nature has always its foundation in history, that is, in experience; for in hot regions noxious insects of this nature, when in monstrous swarms, did often drive before them a small people; as Ahri-man sends flies to punish a country, in the *Vendidad* ed. Olshausen i. p. 3, 9 sq.; and a similar account, *Journal Asiat.* 1838, ii. p. 207; *Bull. de la Soc. de Géographie* Apr. 1853; *Ausland*, 1856, p. 65 sq.; among the Greeks, the Apollo Smintheus, Ipoktonos, &c. Even the peasantry in Bartlett's *Forty Days in the Desert*, p. 82, 90, bears on this subject.

for very existence. It is amazing of what a people is capable when in mortal extremity it keeps before its eyes one fixed goal, to be attained at all hazards. Israel could not and would not return to the fertile lands of Egypt; and as little could it submit to be flung back on the desert regions, and become like its Arabian kindred. Thus the people's gaze was more and more concentrated, and their deepest desire more and more singly directed on the fair land, whither old home-memories as well as their great Prophet's glowing words of promise and exhortation now called them. The growing pressure of need in the desert, after so many years of disaster, of expectation, and of hope, had at last inflamed to the utmost their burning desire to attain at length the first object of their life; and the victories, which had formed a halo round the head of their dying Moses, cast a fresh glory on the prospect of Canaan, the unceasing burden of his prophecy. Thus at last, under their new leader Joshua, the all-kindling desire for a fitting home burst forth into action; and a land worthy to be the prize of the hardest struggle became their new home. Many nations may boast themselves the aboriginal inhabitants of their country—a boast rendered possible in most cases only by historical obscurity. Israel had at least this advantage over others, that it had long learned from its own history that *habitation* in a beautiful home of one's own is a great Divine blessing, which may be won, but may also be easily lost again. Thus alone can we fully understand the emphatic sense in which the Bible so often speaks of *inhabiting* and *inheriting* the land.

But in Joshua, the leader of the people, we must not picture to ourselves a mere rough soldier; we have a very ancient story respecting him,¹ which exhibits quite a different side of his character. On one occasion, it is said, the sons of Joseph, the double tribe of Manasseh and Ephraim, settled in the central territory of Canaan (whose possessions even later ran much into each other, and appeared to them too small), took him to task for assigning but one portion and one lot to their numerous and prosperous tribe; in other words, for giving them but one territory instead of two for their inheritance. But Joshua, at no loss for an answer, replies: Are ye so numerous? (and Mount Ephraim too small for you?) then go into the wood (that is, the thickly planted and peopled plain)² and take the trouble

¹ Joshua xvii. 14–18. This ancient passage, rendered obscure by its biting scorn, was not understood even by the LXX., and the moderns have still less grasped its meaning.

² 'Wood' may, in Hebrew, as in any language, be used for a dense multitude, if the context renders the meaning as certain as in vv. 16, 18; after which the play on the word is exchanged for literal language

to cut down the high fruitful trees, in the plain surrounding their mountains, still peopled by numerous hordes of hostile 'Perizzites and Rephaim,' whom they should long before have annihilated, and thus doubled their inheritance, instead of envying other tribes their portion. But when they made answer to this taunt, 'No, the mountain must suffice for us, for the Canaanites of the plain have the terrible chariots of iron,' Joshua carries on the image of wood and mountain to its climax, and dismisses the importunate suitors who crave much, but shrink in idle fear from the effort to attain it, with the yet bitterer mockery: Ye are a great people, and have great power; ye shall not have one lot only; no, in addition to the mountain which ye already possess and yet not fully possess, ye shall have another, even the wood, to cut down and cultivate—that is, the Canaanites, whom to subdue and make subservient, notwithstanding the strength of their equipment, was the second lot, the prospect of which was held out to them; a biting jest worthy of a Samson. The oldest tradition, then, as embodied in this story, represents Joshua as a hero whose wit could rebuke effectually the presumption of his own countrymen; as the true popular leader in the best sense of the word. We here feel the very same air blowing, which we breathed in from the oldest national songs (see i. p. 626 sqq.); whereas the later historians see in Joshua only the great and victorious leader.

III. JOSHUA'S VICTORIES IN DETAIL.

Of Joshua's various campaigns and victories but little can be said to be fully known on the authority of the oldest writers; but we can follow up many hints with a high degree of probability, and at least form a correct estimate of the general result.

1. The eastern shore of the southern Jordan had in Moses' lifetime (see i. p. 628) already fallen into the hands of the Israelites, who crossed the river not far from Gilgal, a place on the western bank to the north-east of Jericho.¹ Here in Gilgal the

in ver. 18 b. With equal facility may such a word as *mountain* be used to designate the object of strenuous effort. It must be observed that *mountain* in ver. 18 is indefinite, not definite as in ver. 16; and ver. 18 b serves also to explain words in ver. 10 which would otherwise be too obscure. In ver. 16 מִן ought, contrary to the Mas-sora, to be separated from the following words, so as to signify *No!* and מִן־הָהָר to

be pronounced according to the meaning given in i. p. 99 note, or at all events to be thus understood; comp. Zech. x. 10.

¹ According to Josh. iv. 19 and Judges iii. 19, comp. 13, 26, 28. According to the exact data in Josephus *Ant.* v. 1. 4, *Jewish War* iv. 8. 3, it was 50, and Jericho 60 stadia from the Jordan. Another Gilgal, however, according to Deut. xi. 30, lay near Shechem, but probably too far north-

conquering army first obtained a secure footing in the land ; and as this town is not named in connection with any earlier times, and was clearly not a fortress at the time of its occupation by Joshua, it probably grew out of the camp of the new conquerors, being built as a rival to the almost impregnable Jericho. For by the earlier authorities in particular it is spoken of as the appointed place of assembly and the permanent camp, during the whole time of the conquest of the land under Joshua ;¹ and if in that early period the meetings of the community were held there, with the yearly festivals and other sacred observances, as appears plainly from the account of the reestablishment of Circumcision and the Passover-feast,² we can well understand how this city remained, even in the days of Amos and Hosea, as it had been under the Judges, one of the sacred places of favourite resort.³ Not only would Joshua's offerings there be held in remembrance, but an altar and other ancient monuments would be pointed out to the men of later days. Indeed the very name Gilgal may signify a 'cairn' or 'monument of stone.' In like manner among the Arabs, an important town often arose on the site of the first camp pitched by them in a newly-invaded country ; as Kûfa, Basra, Fostât.

The best proof of this is afforded by the extant account of the Passage of the Jordan ;⁴ singular as it appears in its existing form, which is however only an elaboration of earlier and more intelligible traditions. Much of it is old, and derived in fact from the Book of Origins : as the placing the passage of the river on the 10th day of the first month⁵ (on this see i. p. 609), which, as the Day of Preparation, seems unquestionably connected with the approaching festival of the Passover ;⁶ the number of 40,000 armed men of the two and a half Transjor-

ward to be the present Jiljilia, south-west of Shiloh ; it also appears to have been regarded as a sacred spot, and was probably a settlement thrown out from the first Gilgal, see Judges i. 26. One might even conjecture that this northern Gilgal is meant in 2 Kings ii. 1 sqq., as Elijah goes from thence to Bethel, and then to Jericho ; and certainly the passage is unintelligible, if Gilgal, as commonly assumed, lay south-east of Jericho. And in the description of the boundaries in Josh. xv. 7, although in xviii. 7 Geliloth interchanges with Gilgal, it must be our Gilgal which is meant. That the valley Achor lay north of Jericho, is also proved by the *Onom.* of the Fathers.

¹ Josh. v. 2-12, x. 6, 7, 9, 15, 43, ix. 6, xiv. 6.

² Josh. v. 2-12.

³ Amos v. 5, Hosea iv. 15, ix. 15, Judges ii. 1, 1 Sam. x. 8 sqq. According to Robinson (*Journey* i. p. 557, ii. 243) no trace of Gilgal is now to be discovered ; of Ai also he found no certain remains, i. p. 574 sq. The passage Josh. v. 13-15 begins to describe the peculiar sanctity of the site of Gilgal, see p. 6.

⁴ Josh. iii. 1-v. 1.

⁵ Josh. iv. 19.

⁶ Josh. v. 14, comp. Ex. xii. 3 and the *Zeits. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.* iii. p. 430 sqq., also my *Alterthümer* p. 397 sq.

danic tribes, who accompanied the rest to war;¹ and especially the erection at Gilgal of a monument of twelve memorial stones, brought from the Jordan by the twelve tribes.² That such stones, perhaps surrounding an altar, were actually erected there by the twelve tribes, and were still shown in the time of the Earlier Narrators, admits of no question, whether we regard this particular case,³ or the analogy of others.⁴ These stones would preserve a living remembrance of the successful passage of the Jordan; and undoubtedly formed a portion of the sanctuary which attracted many pilgrims down to a late age. For although the people no doubt availed themselves of the fords, practicable at certain points and at a favourable season,⁵ yet a passage so prosperous, and followed by such great victories, might well remain from that time forth a worthy subject of thanksgiving to Jahveh. But the Deuteronomist, to whom more than to the Earlier Narrators the occupation of the land on the west of the Jordan must have appeared one of the most important moments of early history (as the general plan of his book shows), takes up the threads of their shorter descriptions, and produces a far more elaborate picture. According to him the mere appearance of the Ark of the Covenant, carried by the Levites, divides the waters of the Jordan, swollen high in harvest-time; and thus only does the passage become possible. All the great images of the dividing of the Red Sea (Ex. xiv. sq.) are here repeated, to heighten the effect. And in the view of the Deuteronomist, the twelve stones were taken from that very spot in the bed of the Jordan where the bearers of the Ark stood still till the whole people had passed over. In his account, indeed,⁶ other twelve stones

¹ Josh. iv. 12 sq., comp. xxii; Num. xxxii.

² Josh. iii. 12, iv. 3 (with the exception of the words *מִמַּצֵּב רִנְלִי הַחֲהֲנִים*, comp. ver. 9), 4, 8, 19-23; comp. Num. xiii. 2, Ex. xiii. 14. Seetzen also mentions stone ruins in this region, *Reisen* ii. p. 378 sq. The old author of the *Itiner. Burdig.* even pretends to have seen the identical twelve stones (*Revue Archéol.* July 1864, p. 107); and travellers during the Middle Ages, such as Burchardus vii. 34-57 Laur., Odoricus p. 156 also in Laur., and Fel. Fabri ii. 75, 76, may have regarded these as Gilgal, as they also believed themselves to have discovered Ai.

³ Comp. also Judges iii. 19.

⁴ Comp. Ex. xxiv. 4, and i. p. 347.

⁵ The existence of such fords is presupposed in ii. 7; and those in question are in Judges iii. 28 called more definitely the

Fords of Moab; they are the southernmost, not far from the Dead Sea; see on this subject Hahmann's *Questiones Palestinenses* i. ii. sq. 1837. It appears from iii. 15 and the entire context of the narrative, that the passage took place on this occasion at the time of corn-harvest, i.e. in the first month of the year; and at that season, as is indeed intimated in the history, the Jordan is generally exceedingly high; but we have a still more particular account of another passage of the Jordan at Easter in David's time, which is also reported as a miracle, 1 Chron. xii. 15. Compare besides, Lynch's *Narrative* p. 255 sq., Osborne's *Palestine* p. 419 sqq., Seetzen's *Reisen* i. p. 400 sq., ii. p. 301, 320, 321, 375-377, 381, Tobler's *Topographie von Jerusalem* ii. p. 674.

⁶ Josh. iv. 9.

were also set up in the Jordan itself: which might guide us to the idea of the building of a dam, and thence perhaps, in accordance with an ancient phrase,¹ of a bridge over the river.

That from this camp was effected the conquest, first of Jericho in the immediate neighbourhood, and then of Ai, a strong position to the north-west, and therefore more in the heart of the country, was the natural course of warfare; and according to many sure indications (e.g. ch. vii.) such was the account given by the earlier authorities. But the later historians adhere to their accustomed method of marking the commencement or the earliest events of a new period by a more impressive or fuller account, by prefixing the long story of Rahab. The early records had no doubt related how Rahab the harlot, and all her house, were spared at the taking of Jericho; a nation's gratitude long preserves the names of those who by opportune information open for a besieging host the path to victory.² This Rahab, too, was afterwards received into the community of Israel, as trustworthy records bear witness;³ and, harlot though she had been, yet the stain or shame of a former life may be wiped out by entrance through faith into the community of the Living God, especially when this community is so perfectly pure as then; a truth even more powerfully brought out in the New Testament. Nor can it be questioned, that this must be the same Rahab⁴ who is numbered among the ancestresses of the Davidical line. But the original account was probably not longer than in a similar case;⁵ it was the Third Narrator who first thought it worth while to picture in detail this first entrance of spies into the Cisjordanic land and their meeting with Rahab, foreshadowing by this introduction the future fortunes of the whole invading host (ch. ii.). In like manner we have every reason to assume, that the early authorities represented the instantaneous fall of

¹ As is shown by the use of the Greek *γέφυρα*.

² See also Judges i. 22-26, and also a very similar incident related of the Dorian spies (Pausanias *Perieg.* iii. 13. 2), and at the capture of Alexandria under Amru; see the accounts of this in the *Zeits. f. d. Kunde d. Morgentl.* iii. p. 348. It is however only in the case of Jericho that the keys of the city are given up by a prostitute; but Jericho, on a site as hot as Egypt, was doubtless extremely licentious at that early time, as it now is (Robinson's *Travels* i. p. 552 sq.); and so the original meaning of the legend may well

have been that the strong city fell partly through the consequences of its licentious manners: so among the Greeks Aphrodité Porné appears as the Betrayer of Cities (Klausen's *Aeneas* i. p. 81). It is however quite possible, consistently with this, that Rahab actually lived, and although at first a prostitute, repented in the end. But the occurrence as here related is in any case quite as historical as a similar story in the Islamite history, *Journ. As.* 1857, i. p. 403 sq.

³ Josh. vi. 25, comp. 17.

⁴ Matt. i. 5.

⁵ Judges i. 22-26.

the walls of Jericho as the result of the first war-cry or serious assault on the part of the conquerors, after the opposing hosts had stood face to face inactive for a week, i.e. for a certain time.¹ That the city was to be *doomed*, i.e. utterly destroyed, is declared even in the Book of Origins;² but the Fourth Narrator makes this first conquest the occasion for a more glowing description. Jahveh himself announces to Joshua, that the well-guarded city, after being compassed about for six days by the Ark of the Covenant and seven³ priests sounding trumpets, with the whole host in profound silence, and being thus imperceptibly drawn as it were into their sacred net, should, after being six times compassed round, on the seventh day, at the seventh time, to the joint sound of the trumpets and the shouting host, instantaneously fall,—its walls laid low before the invaders. And all things happening as predicted, the underlying truth, that before Jahveh's will and his people's courageous obedience, the strongest walls must fall, is here enfolded in a palpable and tangible dress.⁴

That the attack upon Ai⁵ failed at first, but was afterwards brought to a successful issue by means of a skilfully planned ambushade, had been related by the Book of Origins (chap. vii.), and by the Earliest Narrator too (viii. 22; see above p. 4); but on the manner in which the stratagem was carried out,⁶ the narrative sounds very confused; probably because the Deuteronomist, whose hand and ideas are here occasionally perceptible, found some short passages from the earliest history, especially verses 12 and 13, already interwoven with the words of the Fourth Narrator;⁷ and this not without alterations. According to the earlier of these two narratives, Joshua, having placed 5,000 men in ambush westward of Ai, himself advanced with the whole remaining force under cover of the darkness into the valley lying north of the city, and passed the night there. At break of day he opened the attack, calculating that on his feigning a retreat the enemy would rashly

¹ The account in the earlier writers may probably have been much the same as the very similar description in 1 Kings xx. 29 sq.; comp. Klausen p. 693 sq.

² See Josh. vii. especially ver. 25, compared with vi. 18 sq.

³ This number is here used as in Gen. vii. 2 sqq. by the same Narrator.

⁴ Josh. vi.

⁵ Some moderns, as Vandervelde, think this may be identified with the present *Tell el hajar* (which indeed signifies only *Stone-heap*), eastwards from Bethel.

⁶ Josh. viii. 1–29.

⁷ Vv. 12, 13 most obviously break the connection; and עֶקֶב in ver. 13 is found nowhere else in the sense of *ambush*. Near the beginning of ver. 13 אֲשֶׁר should

probably be omitted, and for וַיֵּלֶךְ, וַיֵּלֶךְ (as in ver. 9) is the only correct reading; in ver. 9 הָעֵמֶק must be read for הָעָם. It would hence appear that the Fourth Narrator must have derived many of his words in vv. 9 and 11 from an earlier source.

pursue him, and leave the city open to the force in ambush; whereby he would put the enemy between two fires, as soon as he suddenly returned to the assault. The later historian makes no change in the essential features of this narrative; but he reduces the number of the ambuscade to 30,000, and here again seizes the opportunity to glorify Joshua in his peculiar fashion. As, according to him, Moses' uplifted staff decides the victory over Amalek, and remains unmoved till the victory is won, so here Joshua, by Divine command, stretches out his spear over Ai till her destiny is decided by the success of the ambuscade, and does not allow it to sink till all is certain. By the Book of Origins the failure of the first assault on Ai is attributed to Jahveh's wrath against Achan of the tribe of Judah, for taking and concealing for himself a portion of the spoils of Jericho, which, being accursed, were to be wholly destroyed. Now we need not doubt that this Achan was an historical character. The people, it is said, stoned the detected criminal, and threw a great heap of stones, in token of everlasting detestation, on the spot where he suffered; and no doubt this spot was still shown in later times. The scene was the valley Achor (i.e. Troubled¹), elsewhere mentioned; and Joshua is reported to have said to Achan before his execution: 'Why hast thou troubled us? Let Jahveh now trouble thee!' But yet, in treating all these events so fully, the Book of Origins has obviously, according to its wont, a directly legislative purpose; on which aspect of the narrative we can better speak farther on in the present work.

These two strong cities of Canaan, the first conquered, were undoubtedly destroyed by Joshua, as the histories relate; and such severity was certainly (from i. p. 577 sq.) quite in keeping with the old war-usages of Israel. Yet it could not be, indeed it plainly was not, Joshua's real intention to devastate beforehand the entire land which Israel was henceforth to inhabit.

From what motives of policy, not revealed by the historians, did Joshua doom these two particular cities to destruction? It can only have been from the desire to make an example of the

¹ Here and in Josh. xv. 7: evidently the valley in the desert region near the southernmost ford of the Jordan, hence named 'Mournful,' which signification is alluded to, with a reference to Joshua's time, in Hosea ii. 17 [15], comp. Ps. xxiii. 4; Josh. xv. 7. Some later writers, as 1 Chron. ii. 7 and the LXX. (with the exception of the Cod. Al.), change the man's name עָכָר into עָכָר, to make it

answer better to the name of the desert, and to Joshua's address in vii. 25, comp. vi. 18; but this is evidently not done in earnest, for they ought to go further, and make the man's name Achor, instead of Achar, to support the conjecture that both the man and his name were originally derived from the place. But we cannot assume this with reference to the Book of Origins.

first-fruits of conquest, and to render easier the defence of Gilgal, his first strong encampment in Canaan. Gilgal on the Jordan was thenceforth to be Israel's abiding foothold in Canaan, whence to subdue the whole country, and whither to retire in time of peril. It ought at the same time to be taken into consideration, that this south-western shore of the Jordan, with its mostly desert, but here and there very fertile lowlands, possesses a soil very similar to that with which Israel had become familiar during the forty years in the Desert. No hostile fortresses, therefore, could be left standing in this region near Gilgal. We find in early authorities no mention of the destruction of the many other cities conquered by Joshua; only Hormah, in the extreme south (mentioned i. p. 613), and Hazor, the chief city of the confederacy of northern princes, were afterwards destroyed in a similar manner;¹ doubtless for equally special reasons, which we can trace in most instances with tolerable certainty. And when we reflect that Gilgal long retained its peculiar importance for Israel (according to p. 16 sqq.), we can understand the growth of a deep-rooted belief in the popular mind, that these two fortresses, Jericho and Ai, must never be rebuilt; for although in later times Joshua's early prohibition was not observed with sufficient strictness,² and the two cities rose again from their ruins,³ there was a disposition, even after the lapse of centuries, to regard any extraordinary misfortune befalling a Hebrew about to settle in Jericho, as the working of Joshua's harsh but just imprecation;⁴ proving the deep impression which that leader's strong rule had left behind him in this region.

2. The next ensuing scenes of the campaigns, as condensed by the book of Joshua from the First Narrator, have generally probability in their favour; they are moreover based upon old authorities exhibiting clear historical features.

After the subjugation of these two fortresses, and the peaceful submission (hereafter to be discussed) of the great neighbouring

¹ As expressly stated, Josh. xi. 13.

² In the same way as Carthage, in spite of the bitter curses denounced against its reerection by its Roman destroyers, was very soon rebuilt upon nearly the same site, Liv. epit. LX., App. *Pun.* ch. cxxxvi. Plutarch *C. Gracchus* xi.

³ Jericho is often mentioned later; Ai reappears as Aiath, Is. x. 28, Neh. xi. 31, and as Ai, Ezra ii. 28, compared with Josh. vi. 24 (26), viii. 28. Possibly the *אֵי* mentioned in Josh. xviii. 23 as near

Bethel, is also the same, if we may adopt *אֵי* the reading of the LXX; for Ai lay not far to the east of Bethel.

⁴ In Ahab's reign, Hiel of Bethel lost both his first-born and his youngest son during the rebuilding of Jericho, we know not exactly how; but Joshua's ancient imprecation was very naturally remembered and specially applied to the event, in 1 Kings xvi. 34, Josh. vi. 26; see also i. p. 114 note.

city Gibeon, and its Hivvite territory,¹ the king of Jebus or Jerusalem forms with four neighbouring kings the first alliance against the invaders and their new subjects the *Gibeonites*. At the appeal of these Gibeonites for help, Joshua with his whole force hastens in one night from the camp at Gilgal to their relief. There, on the west of the walls of Gibeon, begins that long and critical but decisive battle, in which Joshua, when towards close of day the victory still hung in suspense, returned undismayed to the assault, exclaiming in the words of the old song:²

Sun, stand thou still in Gibeon,
And Moon, in the valley of Ajalon!

and, as the same popular song of triumph pursues the tale:

And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed,
Until the people were avenged on their enemies.

Not in vain then was this mighty effort of Joshua at the last moment of the decisive day; when, vehemently renewing the encounter, and only fearing that night might too soon separate the combatants and render futile all previous exertions, he commanded the sun, sinking in the west, and the moon, rising in the east, to *stand still*, only till the victory should be decided, and the enemy driven to flight. For of a truth, from this moment of extremest effort, which seemed to contend with powers of heaven as well as earth, victory inclined to his side; sun and moon seemed to wait till it should be fully assured; and the end of the long laborious day rewarded the indomitable resolution of the closing hour.³ But if the final crisis was so sudden and so overwhelming, who can wonder that the routed foe, flying in wild haste beneath a bursting thunderstorm,

¹ Josh. ix. 17.

² Josh. x. 12 sqq.; see also *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* viii. p. 155.

³ As one who dreads the approach of day or of night wishes all the heavenly bodies to stand still, so to him who is anxiously desiring the end of the day or the night, they seem to move too slowly: see *Iliad* ii. 413 sq., *Odyssey* xxiii. 243-6; Plaut. *Amph.* prol. 113, sc. i. 1. 119 sqq., Liv. vii. 33, Imrialkais' *Mo'allaga* vv. 45 sqq., and Tarafa's *M.* ver. 99, Hamasa p. 490, ver. 10; Abulf. *Ann.* iii. p. 74; Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Peru* ii. p. 170 sqq. No long explanation is needed to show how widely the Deuteronomist has departed from the true spirit of the significant old legend, in his additions in ver. 13 sq. The image, not

infrequent in heathen antiquity, of sun and moon going back, as if recoiling in horror at some deed of unheard-of cruelty, is foreign to this passage. The valley as well as the city of Ajalon may have been situated in the tribe of Dan, and therefore west of Gibeon, where Robinson (ii. 253 sq.) has found a place Yálo at the present day; but according to the meaning of the parallelism of the verse, we must not tear asunder these two names of places, one of which attends the sun, and the other the moon, but understand them as locally inseparable. It was only because Joshua stood east of Gibeon, and because it was still day, that he mentioned the sun and Gibeon first. (This has been overlooked in the essay in the *Bonn Monatsch. für die evang. Kirche*, Aug. 1849, p. 68.)

along the western and south-western sides of the mountain-range towards Beth-horon, Azekah, and Makkedah, should have fancied themselves pursued by Heaven itself in a rain of great hailstones, as is said in verse 11, doubtless from the First Narrator's description?¹ Such was the great victory in Gibeon, which remained even in Isaiah's day proverbial as one of the most tremendous victories of high antiquity.²

At Makkedah, the old tale continues, the five kings at last halted and hid themselves in a cave, and this was reported to Joshua. An ordinary general would have contented himself with the capture of his principal enemies, and the instantaneous wreaking of his wrath upon them. But Joshua, says the legend, only bade them roll a stone before this cave, and follow up the pursuit of the flying foe to the very utmost; and had then the satisfaction, after fully accomplishing all the rest of the day's work, to capture the five kings in their cave. Then follows the conquest of several other cities, southwards to Hebron³ and even⁴ to Arad and Hormah (mentioned i. p. 613), which then first atoned for the overthrow inflicted long before upon the people under Moses. That Joshua utterly destroyed all these cities and massacred their inhabitants, is only said by the Deuteronomist. And⁵ when mention is even made of a permanently decisive subjugation at that time of the *Lowland* by the sea, and of the whole land 'from Kadesh-barnea even unto Gaza,' i.e. of all the Judah of later days in its widest extent towards the south and west, allowance must be made for the very generalising language of the Deuteronomist; as that assertion clearly contradicts the accurate list of thirty-one conquered cities in ch. xii, as well as the old tradition, 'that the children of Anak were not destroyed in Gaza, Gath and Ashdod.'⁶ This will however be further considered hereafter.

3. How the great plain of Galilee, on the possession of which so much depends in the fortunes of Palestine, fell into Joshua's hands, we have no intimation remaining. However, he certainly did subdue it, though apparently (from the early tradition already referred to, p. 15 sq.) not quite fully or permanently. For his conquests extended yet farther north; although his last campaign, as described in our present book of Joshua, is very indistinctly brought before us. It was in this expedition

¹ This figure, not unusual in the Old Testament, obviously would not have arisen apart from experience of tremendous devastations by hailstorms, such as are described in the *Oriental Journal*, Sept. 1837, p. 47; comp. Job xxxviii. 22 sq.,

Ps. xviii. 13 [12], lxviii. 14 [13] sq.

² Is. xxviii. 21.

³ Josh. x. 36-38.

⁴ According to Josh. xii. 14.

⁵ Josh. x. 40-42.

⁶ Josh. xi. 21 sq.; comp. xiii. 2 sq.

against the extreme north, that a great victory was gained near the little lake Merom, over Jabin king of Hazor, 'the former capital of all the northern kingdoms,' and the kings in league with him.¹ The existing account no doubt preserves many early recollections on special points. Even the circumstance that the city Hazor, which according to vv. 11-13 was then burned down, reappears² in a later age as the capital of a king likewise named Jabin, does not prove a previous conquest by Joshua impossible, since such royal names are frequently perpetuated, and we have now no means of deciding whether the king in Joshua's time, or the one at the time of the Judges, or both, were so called. But, so far as we can determine from the short extant traditions, these northern conquests were effected somewhat as follows. When the army of the numerous kings, whom the Prince of Hazor had united into one great league, had been routed, he and all the rest promised obedience, and were received as vassals. But while Joshua was following up his success and pursuing his victorious march still farther to the north, subduing the sea-coast on the west, and the great fertile valley between Lebanon and Hermon (Antilibanus) on the east, and pushing on even to the northern slopes of Lebanon,³ the proud king of Hazor, deeming himself safe on this side of the mountains, must have again revolted. But instantly, from the farthest north, Joshua returned upon him; and if, as is farther expressly recorded, he now visited him with utter annihilation, and even burned down his city, while he left uninjured the many other cities 'standing on their hills,' i.e. well-fortified, his exceptional severity in this particular case can hardly excite surprise.

That the Canaanites had thus been already driven back by Joshua far to the north and held in subjection for a time, admits of no question as a general statement; the traces of early tradition are too distinct for doubt. And that Joshua, from his stronghold in the heart of the country, should carry his victorious arms northwards as well as southwards, now attacking and now attacked, is the inevitable course of events. This first entrance of Joshua on the western side of the Jordan must have been most decisive in its results; and it is impossible to

¹ Josh. xi. The ruins of Hazor ought probably not to be looked for in Ain el Hazuri to the north-east, but in Azur, north of Kadesh and north-west of the lake Merom; at all events, the most recent travellers have discovered there such a locality, which from every indication would correspond

well to the city often mentioned in the Old Testament, which was rebuilt soon after its destruction by Joshua. See *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iii. p. 192, iv. p. 33, vi. p. 83, vii. p. 123.

² Judges iv. 2-7.

³ Josh. xi. 8.

exaggerate its overpowering effect. But it is evident that earlier and far more circumstantial accounts of these northern campaigns must have been fused down into that which we now possess. When in the existing narrative we read that Joshua here too lays utterly waste all the cities, lets no single Canaanite anywhere escape, and finally extirpates all the children of Anak, in both north and south,¹ we recognise the hand of the Deuteronomist, who paints Joshua the destroyer of the Canaanite as the typical destroyer of heathendom, such as he wished the king to be in his own day.

The result, then, of these investigations is briefly this: that all the older writers, even (as far as we see) the Fourth Narrator, tell nothing of Joshua's victories but what is quite probable; but that the Deuteronomist, in subservience to his special aim, generalised far too much his achievements as conqueror and extirpator of the Canaanites, so as to lose sight entirely of many details of the tradition.

IV. CONCLUSION OF JOSHUA'S HISTORY.

DIVISION OF THE LAND, AND THE NEW COMMUNITY.

The most obscure portion of Joshua's history, however, is its conclusion; and one immediate cause of this difficulty is seen at once to be a very serious mutilation here occurring in the Book of Origins, which, if perfect, would have been our principal authority.² One great gap is discovered in the chronology. How truly characteristic of this book is a continuous, and as far as possible accurate, chronological thread, has been shown, vol. i. p. 81 sq. Now in Joshua's case the length of his life is indeed given;³ but the duration of his government would also certainly have been recorded, as is done in the case of Moses. Josephus⁴ gives twenty-five years as the length of his rule, which

¹ Josh. xi. 21; comp. on the other hand Judges i. 10.

² For instance, the catalogue of the places where for the time the main camp was pitched, must have been continued; for there Israel must then have still maintained a fortified camp as her central point. The words 'from Shittim,' i. p. 633, 'to Gilgal,' Micah vi. 5, are evidently taken from an ancient book, where they formed the commencement of a regular continuation to Num. xxxiii.

³ Josh. xxiv. 29; comp. Judges ii. 8.

⁴ *Ant.* v. 1. 19, 28, 29; that is, five years before the division of the land, and twenty to his death. But other authors of these later ages always assign twenty-seven

years: see Theophilus *ad Autol.* iii. 24, Clemens Alex. *Strom.* i. 21, Eusebius *Chron.* i. p. 160, 170 of the Armenian translation, and Georgius Syncellus *Chronog.* p. 284, ed. Bonn; Eupolemus indeed, in Eusebius *Præp. Evan.* ix. 30, x. 14, says thirty years. The number of years given by different authorities varies from twenty-five to thirty, and we cannot at once decide which is the most reliable; but we shall show presently that twenty-five is the most probable. The *Chron. Sam. Arab.* actually gives him in ch. xxxix. forty-five years' rule, though in other places (ch. xxi. and xxv.), only one-and-twenty. The other names and numbers occurring there are also very unreliable.

statement may be derived from some authority to which this deficiency was still unknown. At least if we reflect that the Book of Origins ascribes to Joshua 110 years of age, to Moses 120, including forty years of rule, and to his elder brother Aaron 123,¹ thus shortening the term of human life in Joshua's case in conformity with general principles, the period of twenty-five years for Joshua's government will scarcely appear out of harmony with the rest of the chronology of the book. This view is corroborated by the incidental notice respecting Caleb's age;² if this contemporary of Joshua was eighty-five at the conclusion of the wars (whence it may be presumed that their duration was estimated by this narrator at only five years), Joshua himself can hardly have been much older then.

Between Josh. xiii and xxii, however, so considerable a portion of the Book of Origins' description of Joshua's later years is preserved, as to enable us to form a clear general idea of that narrator's views. According to him, the High Priest Eleazar and Joshua called a solemn assembly after the complete conquest and pacification of the land, and there portioned it out to the twelve lay tribes by the consecrated mode of lot, the boundaries of the territory of each tribe, as well as its towns and villages, being carefully defined. Or rather, as Moses had already given away the land beyond the Jordan to two and a half tribes, there remained only the land on the western side to be divided among nine and a half tribes. In fact, however, only Judah, Joseph, and half Manasseh, took immediate possession of their lots or appointed portions. Such was the dilatory inertness of the other seven tribes, that Joshua had to content himself with having the rest of the country mapped out by three experienced men of each tribe, divided into seven portions, and then distributed by lot among these tribes, so as to mark it out as rightfully belonging to them, and to be occupied at some future time. This distribution of well-defined territories to the tribes, and the accompanying separation of the Levitical cities and cities of refuge, would thus be Joshua's last great public work—the peaceful key-stone to his numerous conquests.

A careful examination of this view, with regard to the whole character of the Book of Origins, leaves no doubt as to its meaning. For we have here again the great object of this book, a picture of the historical origin of the legal condition of the people, only applied to one special instance. Even the territorial

¹ This follows from Ex. vii. 7 and xx. 28 as it now stands. Num. xxxiii. 39; but is wanting in Num. ² Josh. xiv. 10.

boundaries, within which, at the time this book was composed, the tribes had for centuries felt themselves at home, are naturally invested with a certain sanctity and attributed to a Divine appointment. Not only the Holy Land in the gross, but even the condition of its parts and their distribution among the tribes, appear guarded by the sanction of a Divine will, and the legal tenure of each part finds in this its true justification. Though the territory held by each several tribe or family in permanent hereditary possession may appear, humanly speaking, to have become his only by chance, yet the holder has every reason to be content with his portion, be it what it may, seeing how long and peacefully it has been enjoyed. He therefore naturally sees in the casting of lots a Divine sanction, and thankfully regards the property as Divinely decreed to him.¹ Such a view has certainly some essential truth, though this must be differently understood at different times. For if, when this Book of Origins was composed, the separate tribes had already lost their importance and independence,—as could not but be the case under the monarchy, and especially after the division of the Davidical kingdom,—such a view would have had no proper vital meaning, but doubtless the tribal constitution still subsisted in tolerable integrity. The accurate distinction of the possessions and boundaries of each tribe might still appear of great importance, and in fact this section of the Book of Origins preserves to us most valuable documents respecting the intersecting boundaries and scattered territories of the tribes. We have only to regret that many descriptions of territories and boundaries are so unavoidably obscure to us, as to deprive the view in some parts of its clearness. But if in the most prosperous period of the entire kingdom the old sanctity remained attached to these separate territories after the lapse of centuries, each tribe regarding its own portion, endeared by long possession, as a lot bestowed by the God of the entire community, then we can understand how the historian can treat these territorial descriptions just like any other laws, and refer them immediately to the Divine will. One step farther leads to the attempt to conceive of this last great hero of the Mosaic age, who moreover as conqueror of the land was best fitted to be its divider, as the instrument of this division, effected by Divine lot. And this closes the great series of lasting and sacred institutions, which, according to the view of the Book of Origins, received their first life in that grand

¹ Hence the beautiful figures in Ps. xvi. 5, 6. But also among the Greeks and Romans the words *κλήροι* and *sortes* are used to denote the shares of the individual citizens in the common property of a new settlement.

birth-time of the community of Israel. Whereas Moses is to this historian the instrument of all regulations respecting the internal affairs of the nation, the conqueror Joshua is the organ of all directions on its conduct towards the other nations in Canaan; while according to the true feeling of the Jahveh-religion both laws are nevertheless regarded as flowing from one common source.

But this narrator did not mean to assert literally that all the tribes were in Joshua's time already established in their later possessions; for he depended on far earlier and strictly historical records. This is made sufficiently obvious from his admission that for seven of the tribes the lot was cast over districts only surveyed, but not yet taken into possession. No thoughtful ruler would willingly allow the lot to be cast for districts yet to be conquered. The account we are considering cannot possibly mean to assert that Joshua did so, since it gives an exact description of each tribe's future possession, even to its precise boundaries, quarters, and cities. We are thereby obliged to investigate further, and especially to enquire whether there are any other and even earlier authorities that may help to dispel the obscurity.

Now some accounts have fortunately been elsewhere preserved, which give us an occasional glimpse into the busy, restless life of those early times. The principal portion of these accounts is derived (as shown at i. p. 64 sqq.) from the often-mentioned work of the Earliest Historian; it is found very scattered and mixed up with much other matter in our existing books—principally in the first chapter of the Book of Judges, and in those supplementary descriptions of the territories of the tribes in the Book of Origins, which in all probability were among the many contributions from the Fifth Narrator to the life of Joshua; and which often agree even verbally with the former.¹ These scattered and mutilated remnants of a primal

¹ In the Book of Joshua, beginning from ch. xv, the following passages occur:

(1) The account of Caleb's and Othniel's possessions in xv. 13-19; for here it entirely spoils the original connection, and on the other hand recurs in substance in Judges i. 10-15; and all that the Book of Origins had to say of Caleb's possession had been brought forward in ch. xiv. 6-15. (2) xv. 45-58, the inclusion of the three Philistine cities Ekron, Ashdod and Gaza in the territory of Judah; which is in itself foreign to the context (because in all the other ten circles of Judah the total number of the cities is given at the end) and contradicts the description of the boundaries given in ver. 11; also the use of בנות *daughters* for villages is unknown to the Book of Origins. This interpolation must be derived from some account conformable to Judges i. 18. (3) The passages which speak of original inhabitants not yet extirpated, and herein differ totally from the Book of Origins, xv. 63, comp. with Judges i. 21; xvi. 10 comp. with Judges i. 29; xvii. 11-13 comp. with Judges i. 27, 28: all of which for various other reasons cannot originally belong to the place where they now stand in the Book of Joshua. In like manner xiii. 13; and respecting xiii.

document of which we have already so often felt the value, now help to elucidate our difficulties. The picture of that transition-period, as these and other records enable us to discern it, is briefly somewhat as follows:

1. There is no doubt that Joshua, during the first years of the entrance into Canaan, subdued the country on every side, and received the submission of all the Canaanites whose lives were spared. It is very possible that in the first terror of surprise the Philistines and even the men of Sidon and the rest of the Phenicians may have paid homage (although these last could never again be subdued); for the memory that the whole land between Egypt and Lebanon belonged properly to Israel, was never wholly lost.¹ But the comparative rapidity with which, according to the ancient account, this was accomplished, within about five years, must have operated rather injuriously than advantageously upon the Israelites in their then position.

For the real rule of Joshua must thereby have seemed concluded. Up to that time all capable of bearing arms must undoubtedly have followed him willingly; not only because he had been entrusted by Moses with the leadership in war, but because one great common purpose had united all. Now that they had subdued the land, and attained the single earthly object, which then (see p. 8 sqq.) floated before the eyes of the people, Joshua's leadership could but cede to the pure Theocracy—the new constitution, as yet perfectly inviolable and holy, which, while sanctioning the delegation of all human authority into one hand in certain cases (see i. p. 573), as when a great prophet wins for himself universal reverence, or when a great war is to be waged, forbids it in time of peace or under ordinary circumstances. The time for delivering back into the hands of the community that exceptional authority (Dictatorship) and acknowledging Jahveh in the strictest sense as only

26 see below. (4) The passage xvii. 14–18, of which we have already spoken, p. 15 sq. To see how simple and slender were the original descriptions in the Book of Origins, look at ch. xviii. and xix, where no such additions occur, though from Judges i. 30 sqq. it is evident that they were quite possible there also. But that the Book of Origins itself, in these descriptions of the country, has suffered great and serious damage, is also unfortunately undeniable on a closer examination. For the description of the districts assigned to the twelve tribes is evidently so planned, that in each case the boundaries, the quarters, and the cities belonging to each quarter, should be accurately given,

and the cities constituting one quarter be always enumerated together. As this plan was carried out in the case of Benjamin (xviii. 11–28), and other small tribes, as well as Judah (xv), there is no conceivable reason why in the important tribe of Ephraim (xvi) the quarters and cities should be entirely omitted; and it is evident from this and similar indications that much of the old work must now be lost.

¹ Not without significance is Sidon spoken of in Judges i. 31 (where Tyre is not even mentioned) as falling properly within the dominion of Israel; although even the Book of Origins, in Josh. xix. 28, 29, excludes Sidon and Tyre from the borders of Israel.

Lord and King over his peaceful people, was now arrived ; and the duty would certainly not be questioned by a chief who had lived through the grand days of Moses, and had acquired by living experience the true meaning of pure Theocracy.

That this change, however, was not made in undue haste, and that the great successor of the still greater national leader would strain every nerve to carry it out most effectually, may be taken for granted. After great victories, or other startling changes in the national condition, the creation of new institutions is the primary necessity ; and how vast and important was the work then required in Israel, when the people were to take up their permanent abode in a land perfectly new to them ! That at this crisis, immediately upon the subjugation of Canaan, much of permanent importance was actually done, cannot on examination be doubted.

In the first place, the partition of the conquered land among the twelve tribes must at this time have been carried out, at least in principle and in its main features, and quite apart from the peculiar views of the Book of Origins. That it was also carried out upon a well-considered plan,—which is still more important,—will be more fully shown hereafter. But as the settlement in all its details, as it subsequently endured for centuries, was not fully established till the period immediately following the time of Joshua, this is not the suitable place for discussing all points connected with it.

Secondly, at the very time when the tribes could thus separate, and each occupy its allotted portion of the conquered country, arrangements must have been made to preserve a certain unity in the state of the twelve tribes. Indeed, as there was to be no human ruler over the whole state, some such arrangements were especially necessary to hold together as far as possible the now separated elements of the nation. The national or popular Assembly, therefore, whose commencement may be traced back to far earlier times (see i. p. 370), now became more necessary than ever, for considering and resolving upon points of common concern. Its president must in ordinary times be the High Priest, in virtue of his permanent and uninterrupted tenure of office ; and for like reasons, its place of meeting must in ordinary cases be determined by the station of the Tabernacle and the Ark of the Covenant, where the High Priest would usually fix his abode. And since there must always be the possibility of some final appeal for every point of dispute among the people, and as the Oracle was then universally received as such, the power of such decision by

means of the oracle was committed to the High Priest; though it could only be voluntarily sought, never enforced. But as the centre of gravity of the kingdom of Israel now lay on the western side of the Jordan, and only two tribes remained on the other, Gilgal was no longer a suitable position for the Tabernacle and the Assembly (see p. 16 sqq.). A sacred spot it could not but continue to be, so long as the altar there erected, and so many other memorials, remained to bear witness to the great days of the first passage of the Jordan;¹ but the Tabernacle must obviously be transferred to some more central site of the region on the western side. How it happened that the Tabernacle, when thus moved, did not in succeeding centuries always remain at one fixed station, will be hereafter explained: it is sufficient now to remark, that Shiloh was at first, and prevailingly continued to be, this important centre; and that the Book of Origins represents this entire great change as long accomplished in Joshua's later years.² That the territory of this chief and central place was regarded as sacred above all others, and as appertaining rather to the whole nation than to any one special tribe, is not difficult to understand;³ and we still see floating before the eyes of Ezekiel the Messianic image of a most holy domain, distinct from the territories of all the twelve tribes, and lying in the very midst of the Holy Land.⁴ But this new central place was at first, like Gilgal before it (p. 17), little more than a camp,⁵ where the nation's sacred things were kept well guarded, and where all still wore as warlike an aspect as in the previous history of the race. The city itself, though near the middle of the country on this side Jordan, lies somewhat to

¹ The twelve stones by the Jordan, which were plainly erected by the twelve tribes in conformity with the ancient sanctity of such stone monuments in Canaan, were taken out of the Jordan, and set up on its bank at Gilgal. So says the Book of Origins, Josh. iv. 2, 3, 6-8, 19, 20; but the Deuteronomist, in whose time the monument in Gilgal may have been destroyed, represents them as erected in the Jordan itself; see part of vv. 3 and 9. A very similar monument is that mentioned in Ex. xxiv. 4. On all this see p. 18.

² The Book of Origins, while invariably designating Gilgal as the seat of empire during the wars, and even later (Josh. xiv. 6), with equal persistency ascribes that dignity to Shiloh 'after the land was entirely subdued;' with the distinct statement that the translation of the Ark thither was

effected by decree of the national Assembly, Josh. xviii. 1, 8-10, xix. 61, xxi. 2, xxii. 9. The reason and commencement of this change are only very briefly mentioned in the Book of Origins, xviii. 1.

³ There is indeed no ancient testimony to this effect; but the fact that Shiloh did not belong to the Levitical cities of Ephraim, Josh. xxi. 20-22, and yet was certainly accounted holy, is of itself evidence.

⁴ Ezek. xlvi. 13 sqq. A very similar instance has become known through recently discovered Greek inscriptions: that Delphi, or (as it was briefly expressed) Apollo, possessed a sacred territory with fixed boundaries, the extent of which was defined in a long inscription. See *Revue Archéol.* Nov. 1864, p. 407.

⁵ According to the Book of Origins, Josh. xviii. 9.

the south,¹ as though it had been conquered before the more northern Shechem of earlier sanctity, and had been at once raised to be the new centre and sanctuary of the nation.

In the third place, many institutions determining especially the ceremonial of religion, which under Moses cannot practically have existed, must have been created at this period. That during the forty years' wandering in the desert the Israelites brought no flesh-offerings to their God, and that he required none such at their hands, is declared expressly by the old prophet Amos.² That Jahveh, when he brought his people out of Egypt, gave them very different commands than to bring such flesh-offerings, is said with equal distinctness by Jeremiah.³ Contrary as these great Prophets' declarations may appear to the contents of the Pentateuch as it now stands; contrary as they really are for those who cannot look beyond the mere letter of the record, yet none the less irrefragably correct is the historical judgment of these great men of the second period of Hebrew antiquity. The sacrifices which a nation brings to its God or gods out of its abundance, are necessarily determined by that abundance; and how could the Israelites possibly have offered flesh to their God in the desert, where they had hardly the barest necessities for their own subsistence? If on the most essential holy-days some few flesh-offerings may possibly have been with great difficulty provided,⁴ yet to individuals this must have been absolutely impossible. Yet in those glorious days the Divine grace was bestowed on the people no less abundantly; and the great Prophets justly appeal to this to prove all such sacrifices nonessential. But now that Israel had occupied a land of luxuriant fertility, everything might be changed: and not only flesh-offerings but many other acts of service for the sanctuary were undoubtedly then prescribed.⁵ The question as to the position of the Levites is closely connected with this subject. That their high dignity dated only two or three generations back, and that even in the time of Moses they did not form a proper sacerdotal tribe, has already been pointed out (i. p. 564 sqq.). But they had long approved themselves as the most faithful champions of the sanctuary, and the God Jahveh, for the defence of whose sanctuary they had bravely banded themselves together, and whose doctrine

¹ The site was known in the Middle Ages; see R. Chelo in Carmoly's *Itinéraires*, p. 250 sq.

² Amos v. 25.

³ Jer. vii. 22 sqq.

⁴ As may be inferred from the ancient

narrative, Ex. xxiv. 5, 6, 11.

⁵ The Book of Origins discriminates very correctly the sacrifices which only became possible in the Holy Land, Num. xv. 1 sqq.

they also best understood, had then (to express the correct feeling of the time) accompanied his people on their victorious entrance into the promised land. It was therefore only consistent with this history, that the people should commit to the tribe of Aaron and Moses in express legal form the permanent defence and uninterrupted care of the sanctuary, the tribe receiving corresponding guaranteed privileges. It will soon be shown that the most important of these, the appointment, if not the complete cession, of 48 Levitical cities, must belong to the time of Joshua. About this time, moreover, many customs certainly first received proper legal sanction, which, though closely connected with the existing religion, possessed more popular importance for the fully established community; as the Feast of the Passover, in commemoration of the deliverance out of Egypt; and circumcision, as marking every male member of the community. Not without reason does the Earliest Narrator make Gilgal the scene of the first general circumcision, and likewise of the first Passover.¹ At Gilgal near the Jordan, doubtless, many in still later days loved to keep the Passover; being more forcibly reminded by the sight of the Jordan of the triumphant entry into Canaan, of the previous adventures in the desert, and of the deliverance out of Egypt. In the same spirit, the commemoration of the passage of the Jordan was transferred to the spring season, when its waters are strongest (p. 18).

Thus about this time the constitution of the community, begun by Moses, must have been completed in all those important regulations which we see maintained through succeeding ages with unshaken firmness. The people, without intentionally abandoning any essential peculiarities of their religion or nationality, clung as closely as possible to the fair land now their own. Their quiet acquiescence in such radical alterations of their condition was doubtless owing in great part to Joshua's high influence and known good intentions. The habitual expression in the Book of Origins,² that the people assembled in the latter days of Joshua, before 'Eleazar the High Priest, Joshua the son of Nun, and the heads of tribes (or princes),' indicates a fortunate cooperation of the two then generally recognised powers in the state, such as the succeeding ages do not exhibit till long after.

2. But when Joshua, after this first subjugation of the land,

¹ Josh. v. 2-12; where, however, much an interpolation from the Book of Origins. 4-7, 10.

² Josh. xiv. 1, xvii. 4, xxi. 1, xxii. 9, 12, compared with xiv. 6, where Joshua alone is named; and above, p. 32, note 2.

and this new legislation for a time of peace, retired from his generalship (or dukedom), devoting himself principally to the affairs of his own tribe Ephraim, and contenting himself with such respect as would be spontaneously paid to the veteran leader and highest non-sacerdotal member of the community, new dangers could not but spring from this new state of things. These dangers had been hardly thought of in the time immediately following the great victories, because Israel had entered into new conditions and a new country, where many new and unexpected evils had yet to be learned. For, powerful and decisive for the moment as had been this first conquest of a populous and cultivated land, it was impossible that such a conquest should at once be fully assured against all possible mishaps. Let us consider with this view the entirely different position of the conquerors and the conquered. The Hebrews were at that time as inferior to the Canaanites in all the practical arts, including even arms and military tactics, as they were superior in warlike daring. The former people, who in earlier time had only partially adopted a settled agricultural life, had of late become a mere tribe of encamped warriors, and remained long in this condition (as we shall hereafter show); while the former had long cleaved to the soil. With these striking differences, the warlike daring of the Hebrews might easily achieve most extraordinary momentary successes, and yet their first campaigns could not be much more than what the Arabs in all three continents called *Alghars*, or rather (since the Hebrews had no cavalry) *Razzias*:¹ that is, sudden *raids*, overpowering the land for the moment rather than permanently subduing it; and when the camp of the invaders was remote, the thick ranks of the former inhabitants, regardless of their promised submission, soon closed again behind their invaders. It was only to be expected that, on recovering from the terror of the first campaigns, which lasted, according to the Book of Origins,² some five years, the Canaanites should rally their forces and make an obstinate, if only occasional and partial, resistance. There were times, vividly depicted by the Earliest Narrators, when the Hebrews held possession of many high places, difficult of access for horses and chariots, while the fertile valleys were held by the dense ranks of the Canaanites, who fought with far

¹ غَزَاة; the اَغَارَة is with horses, because these were adapted only for plains and lowlands, غَوْر.

² According to Josh. xiv. 10, see above p. 26 sq.; whereas the expression of the Deuteronomist in Josh. xi. 18, sounds quite general.

superior weapons; and the contest between them was long and laborious.¹ Now, although 'walking upon the high places of the land,' as the poets describe this early experience of their nation,² is not merely the nobler and prouder act, but also the firmer basis for holding a land like Canaan, the possession of which depends so largely on the occupation of its many mountain-ranges, yet these very heights may at times be perilously encompassed by the inhabitants of the valleys, and find themselves but islands shaken by a stormy ocean.

It is hence evident what vicissitudes the history of Israel on the west of the Jordan must have undergone in the very next age after the first victories; and if we have now only few and scattered memorials of the never-ending hostilities and counter-hostilities of those early times, we must use the more care in trying to reconstruct a whole out of these. Let it be remembered how long it was before the Saxons were firmly established in Britain, the Islamite Arabs in Egypt; how many later invasions succeeded the first conquerors, and how Egypt indeed never became completely Arab, till almost whole tribes passed over from the peninsula and settled there. Israel could look for no reinforcement from kindred left behind, but had entered Canaan at once in comparatively large numbers. But so much the worse might be afterwards the position of the nation, left alone without hope of kindred auxiliaries, to meet the repeated outbreaks of the half-subdued Canaanites. And similar long-continued ferments were also to be expected in the land beyond the Jordan, where Israel had been but little longer established. From such fluctuations, therefore, no lasting security was possible, but in the courageous resolve to establish permanent settlements throughout the country, as a basis of operations for taking more and more complete possession of the land, and defending or regaining it from the restless and disaffected old inhabitants. That the desire of such permanent occupation of the land was now the predominant feeling of the nation, and never flagged through centuries of discouragement and difficulty until the end was attained, not only bears witness to the sound feelings and correct judgment of its chiefs, but combines with many other indications to show that, even before the time of Moses, Israel was more in advance of the mere nomadic life than its friends among the nations. For it is expressly recorded of the above-men-

¹ Josh. xvii. 15-18, Judges i. 19, 34; (2 Sam. xxii. 34), then repeated in Hab. iii. 19, and but slightly altered in Deut. xxxii. 13, Is. lviii. 14, as also Deut. xxxiii. 29.

² First occurring in Ps. xviii. 34 [33]

tioned Kenites (i. p. 467 sq.), who in all other respects—in religion as well as in alliances and migrations—attached themselves to Israel, that they never renounced their love of the tent-life, and preferred to remain in the desert, on the border of the cultivated land.¹ In no way can a conquering nation secure its conquest but by closely attaching itself to the soil of its new country, and peacefully amalgamating the former inhabitants with itself; or, should this unfortunately be beyond its power, supplanting them by force as cultivators of the soil. On the other hand, conquerors who from necessity or choice (as the Assyrians, Persians, and Turks) seek to maintain their ascendancy by military and satrap-government, are flung off in any national convulsion, like caterpillars from a tree shaken by the wind.

But this strenuous and salutary endeavour has its attendant evil, which glides in imperceptibly and threatens to neutralise all its beneficial results. We remark, throughout the centuries immediately succeeding, how the nation lost in unity, and therefore in strength of external action, what it gained in settled possession and command of the soil. Long after the nation had begun to feel at home in the land, the grave consequences of the decay of firm national unity were experienced, and from the relapse into the old disunion and insubordination, grew up gradually a whole host of new evils. The connection of this retrograde movement with the preceding advance seems at first a mystery; but its main cause is to be found in the principle of the constitution previously existing. For in accordance with the very religion of this constitution, Joshua after his great victories dissolved the army, dismissing every tribe to its own territory, and tilling the soil himself, like all others; and no other chief, however powerful, could hold the nation together. Thus the community, though still held together by religion, general assemblies, oracles, and ultimate appeal, fell asunder in reference to everything else into a multitude of self-governing tribes. So in the antique narrative with which the Book of Judges begins, we see the tribes ‘after Joshua’s death’ acting quite independently of one another: a state of things which appears plainly to have begun before his death. Each tribe had to take thought for itself, how best to secure and maintain an adequate territory; since the oracle gave its counsel only when specially appealed to. Hence separate interests of all sorts might soon become prevalent, and regard for the

¹ Judges v. 24, iv. 17 sqq., i. 16; the last passage in particular shows plainly the character of the places which they (like the Gipsies among us) liked best to live in; such of them even as settled on this side Jordan.

general good would imperceptibly be more and more forgotten. But, when the popular tendency is strong towards separation of the parts and dissolution of the whole, where is this dangerous progress to be arrested? That the early disunion and jealousies of the several tribes powerfully aided this tendency, is easy to understand, since the uniting power had only recently come into force, under the rule of Moses and Joshua. It would however be a mistake to refer the irresistible tendency of the age to that cause alone.

3. As soon as these two dissimilar and yet closely connected tendencies manifest themselves—the one towards a firm settlement in the land, and defence of the dearly-purchased soil against foes within and without; and the other towards isolation and internal dissolution—a new era necessarily arises, which, though reaping the fruits of Moses' and Joshua's lofty endeavours, has already other perils to combat, other problems to solve.

How long Joshua himself, whose wars (according to p. 26 sq.), would seem to have lasted only five years, may have lived on during this period of transition to a new state of things, is comparatively unimportant; it is however sufficiently clear, from distinct early testimony (see p. 15 sq.), and from the whole tenor of early tradition, that he lived to witness the first loosening of strict national union. And if tradition does not in his case, as in that of Moses, accumulate the mightiest deeds and greatest results on the close of his life, this is a beautiful indication that the latter half of his rule, though from no fault of his own, resembled the waning moon; and its growing obscurity, visible even in the narrative, requires no further explanation. The Deuteronomist, indeed,¹ makes the aged chief twice shortly before his death warn the assembled community in heart-felt words against coming dangers, and solemnly renew Jahveh's covenant with them, quite as if he had worthily succeeded even to the Prophetic dignity of Moses. Looking only to the simple truth of the ideas expressed, we find this account a masterly survey of the whole succeeding history of Israel up to the writer's own time, expressing with unrivalled clearness the feeling of later antiquity, that with Joshua ended the glorious youth of the community of the true God, and that thenceforth a period of fearful and unknown dangers awaited Israel, bereft of its great leaders of the Mosaic age, and placed in new conditions and a new geographical position. But this

¹ Josh. xxiii. and xxiv. 1-28. In the matter is much expanded, and divided into usual manner of the Deuteronomist, the two discourses.

account, as a story, must not be taken as strictly historical, as has already been frequently proved.

The very existence however of such a leader as Joshua could not but keep in abeyance during his lifetime all the dangers and short comings hidden beneath the glittering veil of the pure theocracy just then perfected. He died, according to the good old tradition of the Book of Origins, in all peace and honour, and was buried on his great estate at Timnath-serah,¹ presented to him by the grateful people, which had given a similar estate, called the Hill of Phinehas² to his coadjutor Eleazar the High Priest—both certainly not very far from Shiloh, the central place of assembly at that time. But it was only the afterglow of former meridian splendour which illumined the declining years of the august friend of Moses and Aaron, and held the entire nation tolerably quiet and reverent around the conqueror till his death.

Thus he never, like Moses, became in the time of the nation's decadence a favourite subject for new literary activity: only a few minor regulations for the administration of the land, and a prayer against the Heathen, are ascribed to him by the later Jews; and indeed only by the Talmudists.³ But the Samaritans, in the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the birth of Christ, having fallen into a state of ever-deepening hostility to the Jews, naturally seized with eagerness upon the memory of Joshua, the great successor of Moses, who had given glory to the old central region which they themselves inhabited. The Samaritan 'Book of Joshua'⁴ is the product of this deplorable enmity and prejudice; it is nothing but a general history of the Postmosaic period, composed late in the

¹ Thus Josh. xix. 49 sq., xxiv. 29 sq. The *תִּמְנַת שְׂרָח* in Judges ii. 9 is the more evidently a mere slip of the pen, as all these passages are equally derived from the Book of Origins; the LXX. likewise read the word in different ways. Now this city, as the added name of itself shows, was certainly different from the often-mentioned Timnath (or Thamnath of the LXX.) in the tribe of Dan; which besides lies much too far to the south. But a *Tivneh* has now been discovered six miles to the north-west of Gophna, and consequently not too far from Shiloh; see Ely Smith in Robinson's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1843, note 3. According to an addition in the LXX. after Josh. xxi. 40, the primitive stone-knives were preserved there, which Joshua (ver. 1 sq.) used for circumcision; and doubtless some mementos of Joshua's life here were long exhibited.

² According to the Book of Origins this estate, as well as the other, was situated on the 'Mountain of Ephraim,' Josh. xxiv. 33; and therefore certainly not far from Shiloh; although even in the *Onomasticon* of the Church Fathers it is confounded with Gibeah in the tribe of Benjamin, which is much too far to the south. The locality has now been more carefully explored by V. Guérin (*Revue Archéol.* 1865, i. p. 100-108), who claims to have found there the actual ancient tomb of Joshua. But until some success has been attained in establishing criteria by which the various ages of the old buildings of Palestine may be approximately determined, any isolated identification like this must be regarded as very doubtful.

³ See Fabricii *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. p. 871-876.

⁴ Also called *Chronicon Samaritanum*.

Middle Age, from the narrow Samaritan point of view; in which the life of Joshua and the last days of Moses¹ are described very fully, but quite unhistorically; and a wild imagination unites with the least possible comprehension of the Biblical books to produce a most unpleasing whole, which in tone and temper more resembles an Islamite story-book of the degenerate period after the Crusades, than a Biblical narrative.²

The later Rabbis were consequently the less inclined to take Joshua's history as an object of contemplation, and to discourse or write of him and his times. Whenever they did so, they preferred merely to interweave his history with that of Moses' death,³ of which we have spoken at i. p. 649. The inferior degree of sanctity attributed to the historical books of the Old Testament after the Pentateuch also contributed to this result. The same is true, therefore, of all the great men of the following period of the Judges, and indeed until David.

¹ More particularly a sort of Ascension of Moses, of which a very rhetorical description is given in ch. vi-viii.; saying that the Divine pillar of fire separated him from his latest companions; see above, p. 224. Joshua is differently treated; Cafar Ghuwaira is named as his and also Eleazar's burial-place, ch. xxxix. sq. This cannot, then, be the Tibneh just mentioned, but rather 'Avarta, which was much spoken of in the Middle Ages as the burial-place at least of Eleazar and the Seventy; see Carmoly's *Itinéraires*, pp. 186, 386, 445. It lies to the south-east of Shechem, and according to J. Wilson (*Lands of the Bible* ii. p. 72) was really a different place from the *حوارة* 'Havtra close by, on the west. But the Middle-Age travellers discriminate from this as Joshua's resting-place—one called Kafar Cheres or Timnat Cheres, and a *كفر حارث* is mentioned by Ely Smith in Robinson's *Palestine*, where, on the other hand, 'Avarta is wanting. The place *يوشع* i.e. *Joshua*, which still exists in the extreme north (see *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iv. p. 33, may probably have indicated the farthest northern boundary to which he penetrated.

² The book begins with Num. xxvii. 15,

as the time when Joshua was appointed general by Moses; then in ix. to xxv. gives in its own way the substance of the Hebrew Book of Joshua, and even begins here to tend towards the winding up of his life; but then in xxvi-xxxvii, as if all hitherto said had been too meagre, appends a newly-invented and very vivid account of a last great victory of Joshua's shortly before his death, by the help of the Nobah mentioned Num. xxxii. 42. According to this story, the heathen came from the north, and the battle-field was near el Kaimôn (the *Καίμων* of the Book of Judith) el Lejj'un (i.e. Megiddo), and Ain el Nushaba (comp. *نشا* in Robinson's *Palestine*) consequently in the plains of South Galilee, always a decisive region in the annals of Palestine; which the Book of Judith has selected as the scene of a similar story. This seems at least in all respects the most probable view concerning this locality in the Samaritan Chronicle. When the author has given in ch. xxxviii. a review of the state of things in those happy times, he concludes in ch. xxxix-l. with much briefer notices of the succeeding ages down to the later Roman period.

³ See also Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash* i. p. xxi.

SECTION III.

PERIOD FROM JOSHUA TO THE MONARCHY. DECAY OF PURE
THEOCRACY.

THIS grand and eventful period is now followed by long and dreary centuries, often barren and gloomy, and in parts historically obscure, commonly called the Age of the Judges. This name, however, is not quite appropriate. Eli and Samuel, indeed, are properly accounted Judges;¹ and in the Book of Ruth (at the beginning) the whole period is comprised under this designation; but yet a considerable period certainly elapsed before the appearance of any leader who was entitled to the name of Judge; and indeed the historical memory of such a period was never wholly effaced.²

We have already seen what infinite treasures of eternal truth and fructifying knowledge, of noble pride and elevation of life, of inspiring memories, no less than of material riches and earthly possessions, had been bequeathed by the short preceding period to that which now followed. The people which a few generations back had been deeply debased in Egypt, and which, even when delivered out of Egypt by Moses, was not exempt from manifold backslidings into the prejudices and meannesses incident to that debasement, attains suddenly to a constitution founded on eternal principles, such as no other nation possessed, and thereby to a position and a territory beyond its own most aspiring hopes. How it would maintain this lately achieved elevation; whether it would be betrayed by its successes into presumption and recklessness, into moral laxity and indolence, was for Israel a critical question, such as presents itself in every period of history, where such dear-bought truth and dignity of life have been attained. But it is provided that man shall never be allowed to relapse utterly from a height he has once gained, without at least manifold warnings and instigations. For as those earthly things among which man's work lies are perpetually changing their form (and we have seen how mighty a change of this nature had lately come over Israel), the higher truths and aspirations to which he has once raised himself cannot remain inactive and sta-

¹ 1 Sam. iv. 18, vii. 15.² See the various accounts, Judges i. 1-ii. 16.

tionary, but must perpetually renew their youth and strength by the conquest of new matter, or else utterly perish, and draw man into their own annihilation. And besides, no height to which a man or a nation can attain is absolutely perfect and sufficient in every respect; this it cannot be, from the very fact that it is only one of the many passing phenomena which constitute history. As to the present case, we have already observed how the sublime truths revealed by Moses were from the very first subjected to the conditions and limitations of time and place; and how the many material advantages gained under Joshua were so soon endangered again. The true question was therefore this: how Israel in the new state of things would maintain the elevation newly won by the might and freshness of pure theocracy,—maintain it under the external difficulties inherent in the new age, and the internal difficulties created by an elevation not yet fully attained, or but imperfectly understood.

Well indeed is it for a nation to be (as Israel was) the first in all those early times to conquer for itself a high ideal! What if it be thrown down from that elevation and brought among the sorest difficulties and temptations? even here it is led by that same God who before guided it to that height, and who at last, if it be not wholly disobedient to his hand, will lead it on from glory to glory! There are nations which have never attained for themselves such an elevation—indeed the Germans of the present day (1844) have been for centuries suspended on the rounds of their ladder. Such nations are certainly spared severe trials from the Almighty, and grow on like plants, motionless, or shaken only by tempests; till chance at last brings some one to cut them down.

Israel on the contrary, as is said by a later historian on an impartial retrospect of this long period, was at that time rigorously tested by its God Jahveh, whether it was really true to him or not;¹ and the whole period is passed under such trials,

¹ Judges ii. 22, iii. 1, 4; comp. i. p. 555 sq. But the temptation is here made to bear also upon their then relation towards their nearest enemy. Faithfulness to Jahveh, being constantly endangered by contact with the Canaanites, could apparently only be assured by their destruction; yet this became increasingly difficult to a nation which was gradually growing more effeminate and less warlike. Therefore, even in Joshua's time, Jahveh let many Canaanites live among them, to try

Israel, whether it would again gather up its warlike energy to annihilate the Canaanites and be as faithful to him alone as he required. This is the meaning of the entire passage; and the somewhat abrupt expression in verse 2 runs thus: 'Only in order that the families of Israel might know, in order that they might learn war; but only those who did not before know them (i.e. the great early wars under Joshua).' We must therefore pronounce לִלְקָחָם.

heavier or lighter, coming unexpectedly upon the people, just when the first height is ascended, and they think to repose on it from their toil. For besides the dangers to which every ruling nation is exposed, especially a nation scarcely yet in possession of a newly-conquered kingdom, further consequences of those evils which began (as we have seen at p. 37) under Joshua, were now steadily unfolding themselves: internal disorganisation, and the radical want of external unity. What (according to i. p. 568 sqq.) was the very culminating point of the new religion and the pride of the nation, the pure Theocracy, was precisely the point exposed to the sharpest trial, from which, unremarked, sprang the heaviest evils of the time. Israel had as yet scarcely found time to imbue its spirit deeply with the great truths which had been awakened into life in it, and thus to appropriate them as an inalienable possession; the vital principle of that religion and nationality by which it had so wondrously triumphed, was still scarcely understood, when it was led into manifold severe trials. The great danger to Israel sprang not so much from encroachments, recklessness, or indolence, incident to a victorious possession of a teeming land, for these abuses soon bring their own retribution, and reduce the people again to act on the defensive; but the consequences of internal discord become in the course of this period so threatening that it becomes a grave question, whether the nation will be able to hold even the very soil on which its peculiar religion and culture are to attain their full development.

But just here the whole question was to be decided: here was the turning-point, which must lead either to the utter ruin of the community and religion of Israel, or to a new life, awakened by a new truth victorious over every obstacle. What was really necessary for the progress of the true religion in the world was not that stern, rigid form of Theocracy, which had only grown up out of the simple courage and the unbounded trust in God of its early youth; but that somewhere upon earth it should be unalterably established in the bosom of a nationality, and consequently of a country (i. p. 541 sqq.). Now as soon as this first and most necessary condition became seriously and obviously endangered, and the people awoke to the consciousness that in losing its country and its rank among the nations, it must also lose its religion, because this was not yet independent of such earthly protection; then the turning-point was reached, and it must either despair, or renew its youth from the depths of that very religion. Here then we behold them, aroused in time, struggle with wondrous energy

out of the abyss which had threatened to engulf them with all that they held dear, spiritual and material. They feel in time, though dimly and spasmodically, the greatness of the danger, and how it is to be escaped. The reciprocal relation between a true, elevating religion and a nation once deeply imbued with its spirit, is here, for the first time, revealed in the beauty of its results. The true religion had taken too deep a hold of the people to be abandoned by them in their hour of peril; and the people, impelled by the new force of that religion, may in the end attain a new elevation of life, and from the consciousness of one Divine succour rise to enjoy another and yet another. Thus they are goaded on even by irritating error to grasp the entire truth all the more perfectly in the end.

But the whole of this long period slips away ere the crisis is finally decided for the right, so deeply were rooted in Israel the idea and hope of a pure Theocracy; and the surpassing power and glory of the age of Moses and Joshua are sufficiently manifested in the deep-seated influence of this their highest principle. During the lives of Moses and Joshua, undoubtedly, this Theocracy had been a truth, as far as it ever can be so in the course of history. Only thus is to be explained the deep root which this faith had taken in the national mind. The endurance of the same faith through so many centuries affords a parallel case to the tenacity with which early Christendom clung to the belief in the approaching advent of Christ. The marvellous tenacity of such a belief plainly points to some deep antecedent experience as its source; and even when its first living truth is lost and corruption advances fast, still the belief may retain some truth and some elevating power—perhaps even the germ of a new and imperishable truth.

Hence this long period is characterised by many new experiences, but not by the recognition and carrying-out of new truths. The greatness of the age springs from its heritage of spiritual blessings; its weakness, from the want of a truth to which the earliest form of Jahveism was long unable to elevate itself. Such a truth, the completion of what has been already gained, will indeed in time assert itself; but as yet the age is too weak to secure its acceptance, and must pass through present suffering that this hidden truth may at length find scope for full and free expansion.

But an age which adds no new great truth to its inherited treasures must on the whole lose ground; as the two centuries after the German Reformation introduced a positive retrogression in the Reformation. The only advance consisted in this:

that the people learned by perpetual struggle to defend right valiantly their new earthly home and the free exercise of their religion, and were thereby preparing for coming generations a sacred place, where that religion and national culture might unfold itself freely and fully. Meanwhile, beneath the shelter of what the people increasingly felt to be their true home, many branches of the higher spiritual life might already bloom afresh in individuals. To a period that has revealed such sublime truths and changed so rapidly and radically the entire life of the nation, succeeds naturally a long pause of apparent inaction, in which the principles and truths so marvellously brought to light must take firm root in the altered condition of things, and spread from their original centre till they cover the whole territory. And as this process is necessarily a laborious one, much of the first energy must for a time be lost, much of the original breadth be narrowed; hence the seeming retrogression of such a period. But if this hidden movement is going on, if the great principles are taking firm root among individuals, and imperfections and shortcomings, now discovered by experience, are more widely recognised and more deeply felt; then the eternal truth of those principles will at length assert itself in renewed force, giving the power to divine and the eagerness to make up every deficiency. Then, when the deficiency is once supplied in the right way, one fortunate moment may quickly recover all the lost ground of years.

Thus the irrepressible complication, which lurked unsuspected in some of the views and tendencies of the preceding period, advanced by degrees to its maximum, till at last a solution was found, which in the nation's uncorrupted youth might perhaps prove a salutary one. In such a wide-spreading and long-continued complication, individual powers work with less freedom; many are crushed in the struggle; the strongest long wage the combat apparently in vain. If then the entire period is little distinguished by dazzling greatness; if its best work lies beneath the surface, from which level, at long intervals, only some few grand forms rise up here and there; we can easily understand why in aftertimes it has excited less interest or enquiry than either the preceding or the succeeding epochs, and even in historical works has been treated with comparative brevity. When a narrator did survey this entire completed period, he either pointed to it as a time of frightful disorder (i. p. 141), or represented the barren and often disastrous intervals between the death of one great leader and the

tardy uprising of another, as so many periods of universal temptation and sin (i. p. 162 sq.).

But it is our duty to sketch, from all discoverable traces, as vivid a picture as possible of these times, apparently so barren, yet not without internal movement and silent progress. Thus only can we comprehend the great historic era which succeeds.

A. THE DEFINITE SETTLEMENT OF THE TRIBES.

I. THE TERRITORIES OF THE TRIBES.

We have seen that the settlement of the tribes was not completed in Joshua's lifetime. That we may not start on the assumption that it was governed by pure chance, we shall do well to remember the remarkable persistency with which, from the very earliest times, the number, order, and relative dignity of the twelve tribes were maintained in every department of national life (i. p. 362-381). We can prove from many indications, that all this subsisted in Moses' and Joshua's time in inviolable sanctity, as if handed down from far antiquity; indeed it was then surely quickened, like every national characteristic, into fresh energy. Some weight must be allowed even to the twelve spies, one out of each of the twelve tribes, whom Moses in the second year of the Exodus sends from the desert into Canaan (p. 7), because the Book of Origins gives the names of the individual spies, and these names appear quite historical.¹ In those early days it was as much a point to choose men of note as men of sagacity for spies; as the case of Ulysses and Diomedes in the Iliad shows. Still more distinctly do the twelve stones,² then erected whenever solemn sacrifices were to be offered for the whole community as well as at all permanent places of sacrifice, show that the entire community could regard itself only as consisting of twelve equally privileged and independent portions. But the most distinct evidence of all is afforded by the extremely vivid descriptions in the Book of Origins of the order of encampment of Israel under Moses.³ We have already seen (i. p. 618 sqq.) that the number of 603,550 men, there said to be present in Israel at the first numeration, must have been derived from old census-rolls. Every man in Israel above twenty years of age, bond or free,⁴ was liable to

¹ Num. xiii. 4-15; while at the same time quite different names are given to the generals of the twelve tribes in i. 5-16, and ii. Similar to this is the deputation of twelve emissaries, one from each tribe, Josh. xxii. 13 sq.; Judges xix. 29.

² Ex. xxiv. 4, according to the Earliest

Narrator; Josh. iv. 2, according to the Book of Origins, p. 17 sq.

³ Num. i, ii, vii. 12, 13; differently in ch. xxvi, where the census only is described.

⁴ In connection with this estimate of the entire military force the number of first-

a kind of poll-tax, and was enrolled in the standing army; although the full number was called into active service only on rare occasions, such as general migrations, or great invading expeditions.¹ In this army the twelve tribes appear very exactly arranged in four divisions of three tribes each, in such a manner that the Tabernacle moved along with them in their centre, with the Levites who formed a thirteenth tribe. If, then, we regard this central body of Levites as a fifth division accompanying the four others, just as Israel, according to the earliest accounts, marched out of Egypt in five bands, we obtain the following picture:—

			1. <i>East.</i>			
			Judah	. .	74,600	
			Issachar	. .	55,400	
			Zebulon	. .	57,400	
					<hr/>	
					187,400	
4. <i>North.</i>			5. <i>Centre.</i>		2. <i>South.</i>	
Dan	. . .	62,700			Reuben	. . 46,500
Asher	. . .	41,500	Levi	. 22,000	Simeon	. . 59,300
Naphtali	. . .	53,400			Gad	. . 45,650
		<hr/>			<hr/>	
		157,600			151,450	
			3. <i>West.</i>			
			Ephraim	. .	40,500	
			Manasseh	. .	32,200	
			Benjamin	. .	35,400	
					<hr/>	
					108,100	

In camp the four armies were certainly drawn up thus around Levi; and in like manner Levi, accompanying the Ark of the Covenant, was also arranged in five divisions.² On the march, however, Judah, which ranked first even in numbers, had with two other tribes the honour as well as the danger and responsibility of forming the vanguard. But since this post is rather an honour than a right, the two tribes which from ancient usage claim the highest rank, Reuben and Joseph, each with

born males in all Israel is given in Num. iii. 40-46 as 22,273, which is to the former number nearly in the proportion of 1 to 28. But the average number of males by actual descent in each house must have been far below 28. Many bondsmen (using the word in the widest sense) must therefore be included in the sum total, who were held capable of military service equally with the freeborn. Hence it follows that the total number of the whole nation was probably less than two millions (i. p. 618), and this is confirmed still farther by the accounts of the centuries immediately after Moses. In the depressed period of the Judges the people could not increase rapidly; Saul, however, collects suddenly

a levy of 300,000 men, besides 30,000 from Judah, 1 Sam. xi. 8, and on an earlier occasion 400,000 men are raised, Judges xx. 2; round numbers which must yet be approximately correct.

¹ This follows from the number of only 40,000 armed men, furnished by the two or two-and-a-half tribes settled beyond the Jordan for the conquest of Canaan under Joshua, Josh. iv. 13; for this was about the half of the number at which they were rated, and is yet described as the utmost which these tribes could furnish. The number is given in 1 Chron. v. 18 with greater precision as 44,760.

² According to Num. iii. 14-39; comp. vv. 23, 29, 32, 35, 38.

his complement, surround the Ark, extending from the east towards the south and west. The rear is formed by three of the four inferior tribes. The four divisions were constituted similarly: each being composed of the three tribes most connected by hereditary affinity; and these again arranged in the order of their hereditary rank. Thus the age of Moses certainly introduced certain novelties of organisation, for placing Judah in the van must have been then as great an innovation as the separation of Levi from its fellow-tribes; but these novelties were based entirely upon the old foundation, and no changes introduced but from absolute necessity. That this numerical basis of the military organisation dates from the Mosaic period, is clear from the circumstance that in it the tribe of Simeon, which so early dwindled, still appears very numerous; whereas at the later numeration in Num. xxvi. it had fallen as low as 22,200. But it was certainly maintained long after that age. This we may infer from its being so fully expounded in the Book of Origins; because the author of that book, whenever writing from a legal point of view, describes everything by way of example to his own times. But if in the days of Moses and Joshua the ancient division of the tribes was maintained in all its essential principles—as with such distinct reminiscences it is impossible to doubt—we may safely assume that it would have great weight in the partition of a conquered country. This partition we have now to consider in the form it ultimately assumed—first with reference to the individual tribes, and afterwards returning to a survey of the whole.

1. JOSEPH (EPHRAIM AND MANASSEH); BENJAMIN.

1) The pride, power, and greatness of the twofold tribe of Joseph did not originate with Joshua, who belonged to it, but dates, as we have seen (i. p. 376 sq, 405 sq, 422 sq.), from far distant Premosaic times; yet when we now see its principal branch taking firm root, and spreading out in the very centre of the land on the west of the Jordan, this is evidently due to the activity of its great chief Joshua, and is at the same time a sure proof of real progress in the permanent occupation and improvement of the land. Pressing forth from the camp at Gilgal (p. 16 sq.), the invading tribe after the first victories evidently established itself in the middle of Canaan. The lovely and fertile heights of the mid-country, whence the so-called 'Mountains of Ephraim' project into the wide plains of Galilee, became its first stronghold, which the Canaanites never

reconquered, and whither pursued fugitives retreated, as to an impregnable refuge.¹ According to the Book of Origins, Joshua with his numerous household settled on these mountains, in the territory of the city Timnath-serah, bestowed by the grateful nation on their victorious general; there too was his family burial-place (p. 39 sq.). It followed as a matter of course that the greater part of his tribe crowded around his fortress and domain, and thus became possessors of the first district which could be securely occupied. This point admits, however, of further illustration.

Everything seems to show that the Tabernacle, and consequently the locality of the national assembly, continued throughout all this age to be in central Canaan. Until David's time, the Ark occasionally changed its place, but never beyond the circle of this central district, or indeed the still narrower limit of the mountain-ranges stretching north-westward from Gilgal. This circumstance points clearly to the activity of Joshua and his tribe in the earliest period; but we have also a special argument which enables us to ascertain more certainly the time when this enduring arrangement took its rise. We know with certainty that the Ark, at its very first removal from Gilgal into the interior of the country, was transferred to Shiloh; and that this remained through all this period its most permanent station. This fact is indicated not only by the Book of Origins and the old Books of Kings,² but by the far more ancient testimony of Jacob's Blessing.³ Shiloh's early renown on this account was handed down even to the later poets and prophets, who among the early stations of the Tabernacle mention it alone with the later station Jerusalem.⁴ But Shiloh, like Gilgal, is not one of the holy places famed from Patriarchal times. And why Bethel, of primeval sanctity in Israel (i. p. 303 sqq.)—lying somewhat south, but still sufficiently central—was not now selected as the abiding station of the Tabernacle, is in itself a problem. But this problem is solved very simply by the ancient and unusually circumstantial account,⁵ how Bethel, though its ruler had been at the very first defeated by Joshua,⁶ was not permanently

¹ Ehud, pursued by Moabites, takes refuge on these heights, and is not only safe there, but leads Israel from thence to battle, as is described in Judges iii. 36 sq. with local minuteness. According to Judges v. 15, Deborah, herself belonging to the tribe Issachar, retires for a long time during her judgeship to these mountains, and here receives the nearest combatants, iv. 5, comp. with v. 14. The name 'Mountains of Ephraim' seems from

many indications to be Premosaic, as was conjectured in i. p. 382 sq. Even later, the expression 'a Benjamite of the Mountains of Ephraim' is employed, 2 Sam. xx. 21; comp. ver. 1.

² See p. 32, and 1 Sam. i. 3 sqq.

³ Gen. xlix. 10.

⁴ Jer. vii. 12 sqq.; Ps. lxxviii. 60, 68, 69.

⁵ Judges i. 12-26.

⁶ According to Josh. xii. 16.

occupied by Ephraim till after Joshua's death, being one of that tribe's latest acquisitions; so that the single Canaanite 'man and his house' who had rendered assistance to the besiegers, were permitted to migrate northwards,¹ and there to found a new *Luz*, thus perpetuating the old Canaanite name of the city. Before this occupation, therefore, and doubtless under Joshua himself, the Ark must have taken up its station in the hitherto unknown Shiloh, from which it was not afterwards easily to be moved. But it may be assumed as certain that at the time of the first invasion the possession of Bethel, the holy place of old, was long and fiercely contested, and its permanent occupation remained for some time doubtful.

As Shiloh was appointed the seat of the common Sanctuary, so Shechem, lying somewhat to the north, was, also probably in Joshua's time, fixed upon as the seat of civil government; at first apparently for his own tribe only, though from that tribe's importance it naturally became so for the others also. From the Patriarchal times, Shechem, which had been conquered by Simeon and Levi,² had been an important station, though for other tribes. There Joseph's bones, carefully carried from Egypt, were deposited;³ and now accordingly the tribe most powerful at the time took possession of it, and at once made it its head-quarters. Now since this tribe from Joshua's time had a natural precedence over its brethren, due partly to its early power and dignity, and partly to the greater number and more advantageous position of the fortresses which it conquered, its central city Shechem would naturally become the frequent gathering-place of all the tribes, or the seat of the General Assembly. This is intimated by the Deuteronomist, no doubt on ancient authority;⁴ and the First Narrator⁵ expresses this pre-eminence of Ephraim in a witticism ascribed to the dying Jacob, who, besides other blessings, gave Joseph 'a shoulder above his brethren'—that he should be higher than they by a shoulder, i.e. by Shechem (which means *shoulder*), the great city won by

¹ 'In the land of the Hittites' is indeed said, though only in a general sense, in ver. 26; but probably some northern district on the Phœnician frontier is meant, since the retreat of the Canaanites was on the whole northward. That a Cittyian city in Cyprus or Asia Minor was meant, is exceedingly improbable, especially because it is here described as a place well known in Israel.

² Gen. xxxiv, comp. i. p. 378 sq.

³ Book of Origins, Josh. xxiv. 32; comp. Gen. xlvii. 29-31, l. 26, Ex. xiii. 19.

Throughout the Middle Ages all the localities mentioned in the Bible were anxiously sought for, and this anxiety could only be appeased by their seeming discovery in some suitable situation. Thus the Samaritans show 'Joseph's Grave,' not far from Jacob's Well (John iv. 6, 12); see J. Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 60. But the well has probably the greater claim to antiquity; at all events the grave has not yet been examined.

⁴ Josh. xxiv. 1.

⁵ Gen. xlviii. 22.

Israel from the Canaanites, which though the gathering-place of all the tribes, was the actual possession of this one, and gave to it an exceptional importance.¹ Though afterwards, from the decadence of the tribe, Shechem lost for a time its preeminent position, yet it regained it immediately on Solomon's death, when it became again the seat of the National Assembly, and soon the first royal residence of the Northern Kingdom,² which of itself shows how firmly established must have been the tradition of its ancient dignity.

But although Shechem thus became the supreme seat of the civil power only, not of the sacerdotal, and it is quite in character with the independent existence of these two great national powers, that their respective seats of government, though near, were kept distinct: yet Shechem had from the very earliest times been accounted of such sanctity that it could not but rank among the Levitical cities and cities of refuge.³ There also, at the seat of government, arrangements had to be made for any important national gatherings or national pageants. Thus the two mountains, Ebal and Gerizim, which bounded it on the north and south, early acquired a certain sanctity. On the former stood an altar; perhaps also a memorial of the giving of the Law and the Constituting of the Assembly; and the two mountains seemed made for the very purpose of protecting the grand old city which lay between them. Respecting the traditional sanctity of the two mountains we now know nothing definite but what we are told by the Deuteronomist.⁴ Probability, however, is in favour of it; nor could the Deuteronomist have spoken as he does of their consecration by Joshua himself without the basis of some early tradition.

2) Had this double tribe, when once established in the land, held together its whole strength, it would in all likelihood have remained permanently the ruling tribe. But its strength seems to have been split up immediately after the settlement by the overweening arrogance, to which the tribe of Ephraim often during these ages disastrously yielded.⁵ Now that Levi had been set apart for the charge of the Sanctuary, and separated,

¹ On the other hand the account given of Abraham and Shechem in Acts vii. 16 may be referred either to some apocryphal narrative, or to a mere confusion of Gen. xxxiii. 19 with Gen. xxiii.

² 1 Kings xii. 1, 25.

³ Josh. xx. 7, xxi. 28.

⁴ Deut. xi. 29 sq., xxvii. 2 sqq.; Josh.

viii. 30 sqq. compared with xxiv. 1. Among modern writers, J. Wilson, Sauley, and Guérin have most fully described them; comp. *Jahrb. der Bill. Wiss.* vii. p. 125, ix. p. 119 sq.; and the *Grenzbote* 1860, p. 270 sqq., 186.

⁵ Judges viii. 1 sqq., xii. 1 sqq.; comp. Josh. xvii. 11.

as a tribe of a higher order, from the original twelve, it was only fair that the great tribe of Joseph, which was the preponderating one from the earliest times (i. p. 376 sq., 405 sqq.), and since the Egyptian period the dominant one, should by way of compensation be divided into two, Manasseh¹ and Ephraim. Thus the ancient tribe of Joseph obtained a double voice in the national assembly, as well as double weight or dignity in all public affairs. And judging by the ancient military regulations (p. 47), this had been introduced even in Moses' time. But from two causes the unity and strength of this ancient tribe must have materially suffered since their recent settlement in Canaan. In the first place, it is certain that the half-tribe Ephraim, from which Joshua sprang, now first obtained precedence of Manasseh, or in other words, the birthright, contrary to the claims of seniority (i. p. 382 sq.). Jacob's Blessing (Gen. xlix.) does not touch upon this point, or indeed upon Joseph's division into two tribes, at all; but the Book of Origins, and still more the Third Narrator of the primeval history,² both supply the omission in that ancient record, by an account as copious as it is important, in Gen. xlviii. To these narrators (following the example of Gen. xlix.) the Patriarch Jacob was the organ of the Divine predestination of the fortunes of the several tribes; and since in their time the division of Joseph into two tribes equally privileged with the rest had long become law, they might naturally wish to supply to this legalised arrangement the sanction of the Patriarch's words and acts, after the fashion which had then become usual. In their account, Joseph comes first to the dying Jacob, without his brothers, but with his two sons. When Jacob sees them, he declares his wish to adopt them as his own sons, out of gratitude to God and love to Rachel; and in saying this, he with apparent inadvertence, yet prompted by Divine guidance, mentions Ephraim first. When they are then brought forward to receive gratefully³ this benediction, and are so placed by Joseph before Jacob that he may lay his right hand, as seemed fitting, upon Manasseh the first-born, the half-blind old man, true to his unsuspected deeper instinct, lays his hands cross-wise upon their two heads, so that the right rests upon Ephraim; and when Joseph finally attempts to rectify this, the father declares expressly, that it is no error, and that Ephraim, the younger, shall become the first-born. But if, after the lapse of centuries

¹ Or Machir, mentioned in Judges v. 14, according to i. p. 371, 382 sq.

² See i. p. 97-99.

³ In ver. 12 we must read *וַיִּשָּׁקוּ*; see the observations on this subject in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1862, p. 893, 894.

these narrators still found it necessary to justify by a Divine decision and consecrate by Jacob's blessing the preeminence of Ephraim, we can easily understand that in earlier times jealousy between the two branches was very probable. In addition to this, though possessing between them a tolerably large territory in the middle of the land, they soon found themselves in many ways cramped for room. Manasseh, as secondary to the brother-tribe, was compelled to settle more to the north; but still had Ephraimites¹ dwelling in his midst. Hence it is explicable that 'the children of Joseph,' according to the old legend, were angry with Joshua, because he had given them, though so numerous a tribe, only one portion; that is, not two separate disconnected portions, nor at all events a larger territory (p. 16 sq.): a legend which also reveals the defiant, overbearing character of this twofold tribe. It is therefore not surprising under the circumstances, that a large portion of Manasseh very soon sought other quarters, as will be soon explained.

3) The smaller tribe of Benjamin, originally about as large as one of the twin tribes of Joseph, attached itself very closely to the more powerful Ephraim, both in its place of settlement and in its whole national life; preserving a relation shown in the Patriarchal tradition of birth, and in the military organisation of the early times (p. 47). While those severed branches of Manasseh which settled on the western side of the Jordan, adhere on the north to Ephraim,² the main-stem of that group, Benjamin clings to the southern skirts of the more powerful brother.³ In all great popular movements, when the tribes have free choice to repel or attract each other, Benjamin still holds fast to Ephraim, whom he sometimes even carries with him in his turbulent audacity,⁴ whereas he never turns voluntarily to Judah. Only after the division of David's kingdom, occurs the great change in the tendencies and fortunes of this tribe.

¹ Josh. xvi. 9, xvii. 8 sq. From the serious mutilation and alteration which the Book of Origins has suffered in Josh. xvi-xix, it is difficult to ascertain its precise view of the external and internal boundaries of these two tribes. All the words in ch. xvi. vv. 4 and 5, as far as **מְרִיחָה**, ought to be inserted after **לְבִנֵי יוֹסֵף** in ver. 1; and the last words of ver. 5 are merely repeated from vv. 1-3.

² Josh. xvii.

³ As is very circumstantially described in xviii. 11-28. Tobler in his *Third*

Journey, p. 202, tries to determine the boundary more exactly.

⁴ As is distinctly seen from Judges v. 14; it is also worthy of remark, that after Benjamin had obtained the royal dignity, it was always Ephraim that offered the least opposition, and both at the beginning and during the subsequent part of David's reign supports the pretensions of Benjamin, 2 Sam. ii, xx. So it may be truly said that not only in the traditionary history, but also in the later national life even to David's time, the little Benjamin is Joseph's favourite.

We have so far seen no reason why it should first have separated in old times from the brother tribe, and should now again form itself into a distinct community; but certain other reminiscences meet us now, which throw some light on the subject. We know that even so late as David's time the Benjamites were distinguished by a skill remarkable for that period in all sorts of warlike exercises; they were expert beyond all others in the use of the sling and the bow.¹ How rare and highly-prized was such skill applied to war in the early ages, we see in the *Iliad* and in the *Mahā-Bhārata*; where only a Teucer or an Arjuna is esteemed worthy of praise as an archer; while in all accounts of ancient warfare, the bow appears a most important weapon, well-handled by few, corresponding in those times to the artillery with us. Many also of this tribe were as efficient with the left hand as with the right; using even the sword as if they had no right hand;² and thus most formidable even in the more recondite arts of war. Through that whole period they continued famous for their extraordinary skill and bravery in war; so that, although a small tribe, they became often the most important of all, and were dreaded far and wide.³ Taking all this into consideration, we cannot doubt that the Benjamites were from the earliest ages the real warrior-tribe for Joseph, and that even in the time of David traces of this still remained. A broad light is in fact thus thrown on the whole early history of such tribes. The greater communities were early subdivided into smaller ones, in which the arts of life were developed in special strength and perfection according to the special aptitudes of each; and the one became unable to dispense with the aid of the other.⁴ Hence we may draw some further inferences. Suppose some such affinity determined the close connection of Judah with Reuben, Simeon, Levi, in early days; its whole subsequent history from the time when we know it with some accuracy, would be only the natural result. That Issachar was the exact opposite to a thoroughly warlike tribe, and devoted rather, like an old priestly race, to the formation of correct views and the knowledge of the best morals, is moreover once incidentally mentioned.⁵ Its later history is not inconsistent with this estimate of its character;

¹ Judges xx. 15 sq., 1 Chron. xii. 2. Comp. the antique forms of speech in Gen. xlix. 23 sq.

² Judges xx. 16, comp. iii. 15 sqq.

³ Judges xx. sq., Gen. xlix. 27. (How totally different afterwards, in Deut. xxxiii. 12!)

⁴ How similar divisions were carried down into the several tribes, and special aptitudes and arts were locally held together in guilds, is shown in my *Altgermanien*, p. 296.

⁵ 1 Chron. xiii. 32, to be explained from Esth. i. 13.

although for all the Twelve a new era was initiated by Jahveism, which more and more melted away the original peculiarities and special characteristics.

2. JUDAH, SIMEON, DAN.

1) Still more obscure than the first settlement of Ephraim, is that of Judah, the only tribe which could in any degree compete with it. That at the time of the conquest this tribe surpassed Ephraim both in population and in military capacity, the earliest traditions on the subject make it impossible to doubt. Not only the ancient narrators who themselves probably belonged to Judah, but even the Book of Origins, which never derogates from any advantage on the part of Joseph, agree in representing Judah as bearing in those days the danger and responsibility, no less than the honour, of the vanguard, and as preceding all the tribes in order of battle.¹ The same thing is attested, with warm preference for Judah, by the earliest authority which we possess on the reciprocal relations of the tribes, Jacob's Blessing, in Gen. xlix. With this military precedence another virtue was connected, which always distinguished Judah, and necessarily gave it a great advantage over Joseph: internal harmony notwithstanding its great extent, evidently combined with stricter discipline. In an ancient renown and hereditary dignity, however, no less than in general culture and legislative wisdom, it may very long have remained far inferior.

But we have every reason to suppose that this great tribe, with its military preeminence, would be slow to entertain the thought of a fixed settlement, and would receive little encouragement to such a course from the other tribes. Its presence was required as long as possible in the common camp, whether for attack or for defence. Even when Ephraim, gathered around its hero Joshua and the Tabernacle, was already moving onward towards a settled habitation, it must have endeavoured still to detain the tribe of Judah in the camp. All the earliest authorities are unanimous on this point. According to Jacob's Blessing, Judah is the strong and fortunate leader of the people, 'until he come to Shiloh having the obedience of the nations (i.e. after subduing the Canaanites), and can then think of peace in the fruitful land (which must mean the whole land of Canaan)' Gen. .xlix. 8-12.² Herein is expressly embodied the ancient

¹ In such descriptions as Judges i. 1 sq., xx. 18, which throw light on each other; on the Book of Origins see above, p. 46 sq.

² See the farther explanation of these words in the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* ii. p. 49 sq.

tradition, that Judah had been especially helpful in securing a safe position for the Tabernacle. If this tribe, like Joseph, remained at first in central Canaan, though without taking up any permanent abode there, we can well understand the account given by the First Narrator,¹ how after Joshua's death, when the Canaanites naturally rallied, and war against them was again inevitable, Judah was appointed to the vanguard, and directed his marches first against Galilee; evidently from his encampment in central Canaan. Then was destroyed the Canaanite kingdom of Bezek, a city afterwards rarely mentioned, and falling gradually into decay;² where, on the ruins of some of the Canaanite kingdoms destroyed by Joshua, a new power seems to have sprung up, whose prince when conquered could boast, in antique phraseology not found elsewhere, that once 'seventy kings, having their thumbs and their great toes cut off, gathered crumbs under his table.'

Here it was at Judah's option to spread his tribe over the fertile regions of the north. Had an immediate settlement been then his chief aim, he would have done so; and the whole future history of the tribes might thus have been entirely altered. But he turns towards the south;³ and thither his whole subsequent history tends. There is no palpable reason for doubting the tradition given in the same old narrative,⁴ of his then conquering Jerusalem. For we see him moving on still farther south, without maintaining his hold of the Jerusalem district, and thus this conquest might be lost again; and Benjamin, to whom it was subsequently assigned as a permanent possession, allowed it to be wrested back by the Jebusites, and remained for centuries too weak to reconquer it.

The first steps towards a permanent settlement of this warlike tribe are ascribed by unanimous tradition to Caleb, one of the most remarkable heroes of early legend. He took possession of the territory around the famous old city of Hebron (i. p. 305 sq.), and thereby gained for his tribe a seat held sacred from Patriarchal times. There, it is related, he destroyed the three sons of Anak, Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmi (i. p. 229 sq.); of whom

¹ Judges i. 1-20. In order to prevent any misunderstanding of the decisive phrase in ver. 1, comp. the corresponding phrases in Judges x. 18, xx. 18.

² Judging from the only other passage in which it is named, 1 Sam. xi. 8, it appears to have lain not far from the present Wādi Jābes, but on this side of the Jordan.

³ See Judges i. 7 sqq.

⁴ Judges i. 8, comp. 7. That afterwards the tribe Benjamin could not keep possession of Jerusalem, which had been delivered up to it, is repeated in ver. 21. In Josh. xv. 63 the Fifth Narrator seems to have incorrectly substituted Judah for Benjamin, because in his own later times Jerusalem came to be more and more regarded as belonging to Judah. On Jerusalem see also i. p. 600.

the old legends¹ must originally have told much (as those of David's time did of Goliath); though now, when these legends are so grievously curtailed, they are only mentioned by name. Beginning with Hebron, he acquired for himself a considerable territory, which even in David's time was named simply Caleb, and was distinguished from the rest of Judah as a peculiar district.² Here skilful husbandry seems never to have been wanting; and as Caleb's descendants spread out over the south, they were everywhere distinguished by diligence in agriculture.³ Hebron remained till after David's time celebrated as the main seat and central point of the entire tribe, around which it is evident that all the rest of Judah gradually clustered in good order. The inferior fertility of the south might to many individuals make it appear less desirable; but it satisfied this warlike tribe as a whole; as the military caste in India was by degrees restricted to its sterile western frontier. Both Caleb's strenuous exertions to bring the land into complete subjection, and the scanty gain which rewarded the most arduous conquest, are very neatly expressed in an old legend⁴ which says that Caleb promised his daughter Achsah to whoever should conquer Kirjath-sepher, or Debir, as the city was subsequently named;⁵ but when Othniel had taken this city, which lay in a desert country, the great chief's daughter, more provident for her future establishment than her young husband, concerted with him on the bridal journey a stratagem for obtaining from her father a sufficient portion of arable land. Suddenly, as if some

¹ Judges i. 10, 20, Josh. xv. 13 sq.; and the Book of Origins, Num. xiii. 22, Josh. xiv. 12-15; comp. 1 Chron. iv. 15. It seems from 1 Chron. ii. and iv. that the names Caleb and Chelubai were very celebrated in the ancient genealogies; see i. p. 366.

² 1 Sam. xxx. 14.

³ As was Nabal in Carmel, south-east from Hebron, 1 Sam. xxv. 3.

⁴ Judges i. 11-15, Josh. xv. 15-19. The article in *השנה* in the book of Judges is bearable, as indicating the territory generally belonging to this city. But the *וּמִקִּיָּתָהּ* in both copies must necessarily be understood as *וּמִסִּירָהּ*, since only the signification of סור, Niphal נִסְרָה can belong to this Hiphil; for the meaning must be, 'She took him into the secret, that she would beg the field from her father;' and the LXX. have really so translated it in Joshua. *הַנֶּבֶל* is used in a double sense, as in Ps. cxvi. 4; and the

falling or springing from the animal, in sudden alarm or illness, may be compared with Gen. xxiv. 64; only that the illness was in this case merely feigned.

⁵ Probably from its backward position, i.e. on the southern or south-western slope of the mountain, towards Negeb or Daromas, Josh. xv. 48-51. As it was a strong fortress, it is possibly identical with Elburg in Robinson's maps; which in any case is a modern name. But G. Rosen, in the *Zeitsch. der Deut. Morgenl. Ges.* 1857, p. 50, thinks he has discovered it in a Dewirbân or Idwirban; and Vanderfelde, in his *Memoir* p. 307, in the name of the Wâdi Dilbeh. Both these places lie west of Hebron, but still among the mountains. The LXX. in Joshua give the singular word *γυναιθιά* for both the wells of water; but this probably, like so many peculiar names, rests only on some old corrupt reading. On its yet older names see i. p. 241.

accident had happened to her, she fell from her ass to the ground; and on being embraced by her anxious father, she adjured him, as if in words of inspiration:

Give me a blessing, father!
For into the barren south-land thou hast given me away!
Give me then also wells of water!

Hereupon the troubled father, as if some such scene had really been required to soften him, gave her as dowry a fertile arable district, called the 'Upper Spring' and 'Lower Spring;' probably lying round the conquered city, on the mountain slope. Thus we still come upon stories just like those in the Patriarchal legends, of cornfields and springs of water, which in the south are so rare, and therefore so frequently claimed.¹ At the same time there is no doubt that the southern region beyond the mountain-range, where the land becomes gradually more barren towards the great desert, was chiefly abandoned to those of the original inhabitants who had either been allies of Israel from the time of Moses, or more recently become so. The Othniel just mentioned was himself reckoned a Kenizzite;² and so (according to i. p. 251 sq.) was probably Caleb himself; the more acceptable therefore was this account of Caleb's unwillingness to resign to him the conquered lands. Still further south, near Arad, were established a great number of the Kenites described at i. p. 467 sq., who had moved thither from Jericho under Judah's lead.³ So long as these aborigines, quite content with the barren region to which they were accustomed, remained faithful to Israel, they formed a useful frontier-guard in the farthest south. A smaller portion of the Kenites separated themselves from these southern borderers, to keep in like manner the extreme northern boundary,⁴ 'by the oaks of the marsh-lands (i.e. by the Lake of Merom) not far from Kadesh.'

That Judah did not permanently settle till after Joshua's death, is thus the testimony of the earliest records. Yet the Book of Origins goes still further. Caleb there appears as the only one from Egypt who lived to enter with Joshua the land to the west of the Jordan; having received from Moses himself the promise of a permanent settlement in Canaan, as a reward for his unswerving fidelity. Accordingly the portion which he

¹ See i. p. 216 sq. Othniel's family seems of importance even in David's time, 1 Chron. xxvii. 15, comp. 13.

² See i. p. 251 sq.; only that to the feeling of the Earliest Narrator it seemed more fitting to regard Kenaz as Caleb's younger brother; the Book of Origins is

the first to speak of Caleb himself as a Kenizzite.

³ See Judges i. 16; see above, p. 56.

⁴ Judges iv. 11, v. 24, compared with Josh. xix. 33 and the observations in the *Jahrb. d'r Bibl. Wiss.* ii. p. 52 sq.

solicits on the southern mountains¹ is bestowed by Joshua first of all, before all the tribes and heads of tribes ; and Judah and Joseph are the only two tribes which at once occupy the portion allotted to them by the Divine Oracle. Indeed there are many indications that some of the other tribes obtained secure habitations far later, and with much difficulty.

2) The tribe of Simeon, which in the earliest times, as we have seen (i. p. 379), took the lead of Judah in power and activity, must soon have greatly declined, though the cause is not very apparent. In the Mosaic battle-roll it still follows close upon Reuben, and has in the first numeration the high number of 50,800, but at the second (Num. xxvi.) only 22,200. On this tribe, therefore, the forty years of the desert had told most sensibly. On the occupation of Canaan, Simeon was relegated to the extreme south ; where, in alliance with Judah, it conquered Hormah² (mentioned above, p. 24) ; and was expected, as a necessary consequence of this position, to subdue the coast-towns which subsequently belonged to the Philistines. And according to an ancient narrative,³ the cities of Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron, were actually conquered by Judah ; which probably from the context acted only as combatant for Simeon. But these cities must have been afterwards lost again, as the Philistines became powerful there ; and Simeon cowers beneath the wing of the mighty Judah, and is content, without forming a separate state, to be received into the commonwealth of Judah. The Book of Origins⁴ assigns to this tribe, out of the twelve circles of which Judah's settled territory consisted, only two as a separate possession. We may infer from the names of the places inhabited by Simeon, that these small districts lay on the southern skirts of Judah's territory, and consequently in the less fertile region. Many of these places were only occupied conjointly with Judah, like the mixed villages known in Germany.⁵ We cannot then be surprised to find that in the Blessing of Jacob, as repeated after the lapse of centuries, this tribe is at last altogether omitted after Judah.⁶ But it is a

¹ Josh. xiv. 6-15; comp. Num. xiii. sq.

² Judges i. 17.

³ Judges i. 18. In Josh. xv. 45-47 Ashdod is put for Askelon; the two names being easily confused. The hypothesis that the whole narrative is destitute of foundation, and possibly transfers later inventions to those early ages, is untenable on a close examination of the authorities.

⁴ Josh. xix. 1-9, compared with xv. 20-62; comp. the still earlier evidence in Gen. xlix. 5-7, Judges i. 3, 17.

⁵ When in the catalogues of cities in the Book of Origins the same city is ascribed to two tribes, this is a possible interpretation, when borne out by other indications.

⁶ Deut. xxxiii. 7; the attempts to introduce the tribe Simeon in this passage by a sort of play on the word *יָצָא* are unwarranted, inasmuch as the number of twelve tribes, which, as we have seen (i. p. 376), was obligatory, was made up at once and with obvious purpose by the separation of Ephraim and Manasseh in ver. 17.

remarkable proof how tenaciously these ancient distinctions of tribe were maintained, that this shattered and supplanted remnant of the once almost paramount branch, continued even in David's and Solomon's time to assert a certain independence of Judah; ¹ and even later, under the kingdom of Judah till near the end of the eighth century, still considered itself a tribe, and acted accordingly.²

Including these territories of Simeon and the above-mentioned lands of the original inhabitants, Judah's possessions, the southern frontier of all Israel, stretched some way into the Sinai peninsula, if this be considered to begin from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. The minute description given by the Book of Origins ³ is not entirely clear to us, because some names there mentioned have not yet been identified. If, however, 'the bald mountain, rising towards Seir,' mentioned by the First Narrator as the southern boundary,⁴ is identical with the mountains near the present Wâdi el Ghamr (i.e. the *unfruitful, barren*), to the north-west of Petra, and if the 'Scorpion Ascent' (Akrabbim) of the Book of Origins was somewhere near,⁵ then a nearly straight line may be drawn westwards from thence to the 'Egyptian River,' or stream of Rhinocolura (now el-Arish), which we know from other sources to have formed the south-western boundary.⁶ This would include not only Beersheba, rediscovered by recent travellers, and the other possessions of the Patriarchs in the extreme south (see i. p. 305 sq.), but the Mosaic Kadesh (i. p. 616 sq.) would be thus once more a possession of Israel. At all events, such were the boundaries when Israel was powerful; and that these southernmost districts, although less productive, were well cultivated and tolerably populous, is still sufficiently attested by the scattered ruins of their cities.

We may well regret that we know so little of Simeon's early history; it must have been full of restless activity, of varied life and movement. After the settlement in Canaan, we see this tribe to be little more than a subordinate branch of Judah,

¹ We see this plainly by the way in which the Book of Origins, at its comparatively late period, still carefully discriminates and separately describes the territories of Simeon, Josh. xix. 1-9; 1 Chron. iv. 24-37. Very noteworthy is here the addition of the Chronicler, that this continued *till the reign of David*. See the remarks in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1864, p. 1268 sq.

² 1 Chron. iv. 38-43.

³ Num. xxxiv. 3-5; and with some

variations, Josh. xv. 1-4; also Ezek. xlvii. 19, xlviii. 28; and with quite different phraseology in Josh. xiii. 2-4. Robinson is probably incorrect in identifying the Tamar of Ezekiel with the too northerly Kurnub; comp. *Θαμάρ* in Ptolemy's *Geography*, v. 15.

⁴ Josh. xi. 17, xii. 7.

⁵ This is confirmed also by the words of the older narrator, Judges i. 36.

⁶ Besides the Book of Origins, see Josh. xiii. 3, Gen. xv. 18.

but it must formerly have been much more closely allied with Reuben ; whose liking for a pastoral life of more Arabian character than the other tribes now affected,¹ Simeon long continued to share. It is probable that the violent outbreak of jealousy against the tribe of Levi, when the latter was elevated to its higher position, consumed the strength of Simeon even in Moses' time yet more seriously than that of Reuben (for which see i. p. 602.

3) Disasters similar to those of Simeon must have befallen Dan also in early times, though later than Joshua. The causes, however, were quite different, and thus the results were also dissimilar. This tribe, as a subordinate of Joseph, was to settle west of Ephraim and Benjamin, as far as the sea-coast. That it at first actually took possession of this territory cannot be doubted, since in the Mosaic army-roll it leads the fourth division with a very high number, 64,400 men (at the second numeration). But a kingdom of the Amorites, which long and firmly maintained its existence in the tract along the coast,² must have pressed pretty early on this tribe, and the Philistines still more so afterwards ; so that it lost all cohesion, and could barely maintain a footing in some small districts of its original domain. Some of its cities came to be inhabited by Judah,³ from which it had perhaps received assistance ; in other early difficulties Ephraim was called on for help.⁴ Yet Dan maintained throughout the reputation of one of the bravest and most warlike of the tribes,⁵ afterwards reflected in full glory upon its great hero Samson, though it was the latest to attain to a quiet undisturbed possession. When most of the other tribes were already securely established, we see Dan, 'because it still sought land (inheritance, fixed abode),' sending out to the north an

¹ 1 Chron. iv. 39-43. Some other noteworthy testimonies as to the close affinity of Simeon, in the earliest times, with the Arabs, I have brought forward in a notice of Dozy's work in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1864, p. 1273 sq.

² This follows from Judges i. 34 sq. compared with 1 Sam. vii. 15.

³ Eshtaol and Zorah, two often-named cities, are in the Book of Origins ascribed to both tribes, Josh. xv. 31, 33, xix. 41, but not Timnah, xv. 57. The position of the latter, as the context shows, must have been much too far to the south-east for it to be identified with Thimnathah in xix. 43.

⁴ This would naturally be expected, as Dan was the adopted son of Rachel ; but
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it follows also from the account in Judges i. 34 sq.

⁵ Compare, besides other indications, the poetical expressions (always based on some historical experience) in Gen. xlix. 16 sq., Deut. xxxiii. 22. How long the tribe remained in camp is shown also by the name, 'Dan's camp,' which according to Judges xviii. 12, lay west of Kirjath-jearim, and according to xiii. 25, between Zorah and Eshtaol. If both passages refer to the same place, and if the present Um-Eshteyeh is identical with Eshtaol, this is one of the most important passages for determining the position of Kirjath-jearim ; yet it is not noticed by Robinson, ii. p. 11, iii. p. 157. See also the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* v. p. 226.

army, which at length, in the extreme north, beyond the settlements of Naphtali, the tribe most friendly to it, surprises the Phenician town of Laish. There, as the earliest records very vividly describe,¹ the tribe of Dan establishes itself and makes its name feared, and becomes the advanced-guard of Israel.

3. THE FOUR NORTHERN TRIBES.

How these four smaller tribes effected their settlement, we have no detailed account; but we might naturally imagine that very little free choice was left to them, after the two most powerful tribes, with those attached to them, had taken up their position. Yet a searching investigation, as we shall soon show, leads us to believe that their proceedings were guided by deliberate purpose. The descriptions in the Book of Origins² are too much abridged to enable us to trace the exact boundaries of each of the four northern tribes, because the site of many places there named is still very uncertain; but are sufficient to afford a general view of their relative positions. According to this authority, Issachar, the southernmost of these four northern states, touched the boundary of Joseph to the south of Jezreel, in the great fertile plain (afterwards called the Plain of Galilee), stretching from the river Kishon northwards as far as Tabor, and eastwards to the Jordan, and, as it appears, to the sea of Galilee. Zebulon, at all times closely connected with Issachar, settled on the north of Tabor, nearer the centre of the future Galilee. Judging by the number of its cities, it seems to have at first spread the least widely of all the four tribes. Beyond and to the east of these two, Naphtali established itself along the sea of Galilee and far up the Jordan beyond the important city Kedesh.³ This tribe, from its situation on fertile mountain-slopes⁴ as well as from its national policy and fortunes,⁵ is often grouped with Zebulon. From the number of its cities, it seems to have been larger than the two preceding tribes.⁶ To

¹ Judges xvii. sq., on which see i. p. 140 sq., and the Book of Origins, Josh. xix. 47. There is no reason for refusing to refer this last passage to the Book of Origins, since that book could not have passed over so important a possession of the tribe; the slight difference of tone (p. 4) is therefore to be accounted for by the use made of the Earliest Narrator. There is also a difference in the name given to the city, which is here called Leshem. This was probably the original name, and is perhaps latent in the present *Ledden*; see the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.*

iv. p. 33. The site of the city has been ascertained with sufficient accuracy by modern travellers; the present Tell el Kâdhî seems only the modern Arabic translation of the name Dān (i.e. *Judge*).

² Josh. xix. 11-39; comp. xvii. 10.

³ Renan has now made us acquainted with its position; *Revue Arch.* 1861, p. 160.

⁴ Judges v. 18, Matt. iv. 13.

⁵ Is. viii. 23.

⁶ Clear evidence that it dwelt westward by the sea of Galilee and Lake Merom, and consequently along north Jordan gene-

the west of Naphtali and of the two preceding tribes, and thus touching Manasseh on the south,¹ Asher, the largest of the four, stretched in a long and narrow line along the sea-coast. Asher is said to have extended from Carmel northward as far as Tyre² or even Sidon; but of course this long coast-line was from the first much broken into by Phenician territory.

These descriptions in the Book of Origins are confirmed by the very vivid pictures of the situation of the tribes in Deborah's Song, and by many other scattered notices. Moreover the accounts of the tribes given by the Earliest Narrator³ imply the same. Wherever these two earliest narrators agree, the balance of historic probability inclines greatly to their side. A remarkable deviation however occurs in Jacob's Blessing, which generally may be considered a decisive authority as to the earliest mutual relations of the tribes. When it says of Naphtali (ver. 21),

Naphtali is a slender terebinth,
Which spreadeth forth goodly upper boughs,⁴

it certainly gives a faithful picture of the narrow strip of land, running far upwards to the north along the Jordan stream, like a slender terebinth, which at the same time throws out many brave upper boughs, or leaders of the people; surpassing therein many another tribe less proudly distinguished. Also what he says of Asher,

For Asher,⁵ his bread is too fat,
He yieldeth royal dainties,

applies with perfect historic truth to a tribe which at the courts of Phenician princes could dispose profitably of its superfluity of the best corn and other fruits; and which certainly carried on more commerce with the Phenicians than any of the other

rally, lies in the expression כְּנָרִית, which can have no other meaning: 1 Kings xv. 20; comp. Josh. xi. 2; Deut. iii. 17. Hence it appears, that in Josh. xix. 34, instead of the unmeaning בְּיַהֲרֹךְ (whence it has actually been imagined that Judah had possessions east of the northern Jordan), it would be far better to read כְּנָרִית. (On this see further the *Jahr. der Bibl. Wiss.* iii. p. 189.) If the Beth-shemesh in Judges i. 33, Josh. xiv. 38, which was once probably an important Canaanite city, sacred to the Sun, afterwards conquered by Israel, is identical with the present Mejd el Shems, north of the Greek Phiala (as Saulcy thinks, *Voyage*, ii. p. 560), it lay far to the north-

east; but even from this it does not follow that Naphtali's boundaries extended far east of the Jordan valley, as has been lately maintained; see the *Jahr. der Bibl. Wiss.* viii. p. 144.

¹ Josh. xvii. 10.

² Near which on Robinson's map lies a place named Kanah, which may be the one meant in the catalogue in Josh. xix. 28; but Berghaus gives an Ekri el Kana, somewhat to the south of Sidon, near Sarfend.

³ Judges i. 30-33.

⁴ So at least the words read according to the most correct explanation, but contrary to the Massora.

⁵ Inasmuch as *Asher* may signify the *Happy*, and thus give occasion for a play on the word.

tribes; although those whose territories lay in the heart of Galilee must have had even more abundant produce. But the account of Zebulon in ver. 13,

Zebulon dwells at the coast of the sea,
He himself at the coast of ships,
But his back-part along Sidonia,¹

may have been the most natural to the poet, who is very fond of interpreting names, and here explains Zebulon as the 'dweller or borderer';² but we know from no other authority that Zebulon even touched the sea with ever so narrow a margin.³ But from what has just been said of Asher, who will not admit that this description applies far better to that tribe? as indeed it is applied by Deborah;⁴ the more so since she employs the same unusual words,⁵ so that the one passage must be derived from the other, and the verse in Jacob's Blessing reads only like an amplification of Deborah's shorter words. As, however, the difficulty cannot be disposed of by a transposition of names,⁶ the only tenable hypothesis seems to be, that the writer of Jacob's Blessing, evidently a Judean (i. p. 72), did not correctly discriminate the territories of the four northern tribes; as conversely Deborah never even names Judah. This is only one of many instances of the great separation which gradually grew up between the northernmost and the southernmost tribes. For to suppose that the tribes interchanged territories, and this even after the time of Deborah, is a subterfuge not to be thought of. Josephus,⁷ indeed, speaks of Zebulon and Issachar as touching the sea at Carmel; but this, like all his notices of boundaries, is much too uncertain⁸ for us to build upon.

The settlements of all these tribes, however, were strictly confined to the land enclosed between the sea and the west bank of the Jordan, which becomes narrower towards the north.

¹ Its principal part (on זְבֻלֹן in such cases, see my *Lehrb.* § 314 a) or south-west front immediately on the coast, its narrower north-eastern back-part running along Sidonia; זֶל as in 1 Kings xv. 20.

² Like זֶל, which also signifies *borderer, neighbour*.

³ At least, nothing of the sort can be inferred from Josh. xix. 11.

⁴ Judges v. 17.

⁵ יָשַׁב לְחוּף יָמִים, a phrase not found elsewhere in ancient writings; since in Josh. ix. 1, as well as in Deut. i. 7, the Deuteronomist speaks.

⁶ Because the names in Jacob's Blessing (as explained in i. p. 362 sqq.) succeed

each other in a fixed order, 6, 4, and 2; so that a transposition of these two would be incorrect; although the four subordinate tribes are without any proper order among themselves, and Zebulon even stands very curiously before Issachar; and the fact that in Deut. xxxiii. 19 Zebulon is placed with Issachar on the sea-coast, in allusion to the well-known glass-manufactures on the shore of the Mediterranean, is additional evidence for the antiquity of the present wording of Jacob's Blessing.

⁷ *Ant.* v. 1, 22.

⁸ For even the emendations on the Greek text which Reland proposes are necessitated by neither internal nor external evidence.

Even the city of Dan, encompassed on the north by lands belonging to Naphtali (p. 62), which is so often used proverbially in combination with Beersheba in the south, to express the extreme length of the land of Israel,¹ lay within the district of the Jordan sources, in nearly the same latitude as Tyre.

Apart then from any single cities which the tribe Asher, on the west, might possess yet further to the north, Israel's dominion extended in that direction only to the southern slope of Hermon, or, by its Greek name, Antilibanus. It is therefore the more remarkable, that both legally and prophetically a far more northerly extent of territory is contemplated; and this by the most dissimilar of the early historians. According to the Book of Covenants,² the extreme northern boundary on the west is the territory of the ancient Phœnician city Gebal (whose name the Greeks altered into Byblus), situated far beyond Sidon and Berytus; and opposite to it on the east, the city Baal-Gad, lying below Hermon in the wide valley called by the Greeks Cœle Syria, between Lebanon and Antilibanus. This agrees exactly with the tradition, that Joshua defeated the foe 'as far as Baal-Gad,' in the wide valley of Lebanon.³ There must have then existed in this part a Canaanite kingdom, named from its capital, afterwards probably destroyed, Cœle Syria of Mizpeh.⁴ Thence the road was open to the territory of the old

¹ At least in the days of Israel's highest power, as 2 Sam. xvii. 11. Yet even the still more northern Rechob, on the Phœnician frontier, is thus named in Num. xxiii. 21: comp. Josh. xix. 30; and Riblah in Ezek. vi. 14, according to the better reading. For such passages of primeval history as Gen. xiv. 14, where Dan can only signify this northern city, the name has very naturally been substituted by the Last Narrator for the earlier one.

² The substance of the important passage Josh. xiii. 2-6 (mutilated in Judges iii. 3) is here inserted from the Book of Covenants, its obvious meaning being, that vv. 2-4 describe the districts on the southern boundary, and vv. 5 and 6 those on the northern, which had revolted, and thus had to be conquered again. In the south, owing to the great difference of nationalities, the Philistine territory in the west is first described in vv. 2 and 3, and then the Canaanite in the extreme south in ver. 4. For it is evident from Judges i. 36, that ver. 4 refers to this already lost southernmost land up to the frontier of Edom. That Canaanites were

here mingled with the Aborigines, is shown also by Num. xiv. 45, xxi. 1. A name like Aphek is seen from Josh. xv. 63 to be equally possible in the north and in the south; and 'the Sidonian Meghara' here might then be a colony from Sidon. As the description begins in ver. 3 with the extreme south-west, so it begins in ver. 5 with the farthest north-west; after which, in ver. 6, Sidonia proper is separately introduced. Misrephoth-maim also, according to xi. 8, was probably situated on the frontier of Sidon, towards Byblos. Newbold thinks he has discovered the latter in the present Mezraah (see *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iii. p. 192); but this particular name (*cornfield*) has become so common in modern Palestine as to demand caution in the use we make of it.

³ A statement undoubtedly derived from the Book of Covenants, in Josh. xi. 17, xii. 7; comp. xi. 8. The exact site of Baal-gad has indeed not been yet identified, but that it was situated in Cœle Syria is abundantly evident.

⁴ According to the same authority, in Josh. xi. 8; comp. ver. 3.

fortified city Hamath¹ on the Orontes to the north of Coele Syria; the only ancient and powerful Canaanite city to whose territory no pretensions were raised by ancient Israel, even to David's time; so that 'even unto Hamath,' was a proverbial expression for the extreme north of the Holy Land.² Since in this manner even the northern sides of Lebanon had been virtually in Israel's hands, we understand how the Book of Origins could identify Israel's northern boundary with that of Lebanon;³ as the claim to this entire extent of territory seems never to have been formally renounced by the whole community. And in a military point of view especially the possession of this frontier, and of the entire northern mountain-range, must have been desirable. Joshua's genius undoubtedly perceived this, and David and Jeroboam II., the only two great conquerors among the kings in the next age, strove with some success to push Israel's sovereignty thus far. But in reality Israel had very soon to endure repulse in this extreme north.

4. THE TRIBES BEYOND THE JORDAN.

With respect to the two tribes and a half beyond Jordan, nothing is more striking at the first glance than their wide extent, compared with the narrow space into which the western tribes are compressed. If the southern boundary of these tribes was the Arnon, flowing from the east into the middle part of the Dead Sea; if Salcah, often mentioned as a remote eastern outpost,⁴ was situated, according to Van de Velde, at the eastern point of the Hauran in 32° 29' N. lat., 34° 19' E. long. Gr.; and Kenath, named in the First Narrative,⁵ which Burckhardt identified with Kanuat, as high as 32° 48' N. lat., 34° 16' E. long. Gr.

¹ חֲמַת from חָמַי probably signifies *Fortress*; but its root is found neither in Hebrew nor in ordinary Aramaic, and therefore belongs doubtless to the pure early Canaanite. This accounts also for the name having been formerly so common.

² Josh. xiii. 5, Judges iii. 8, Num. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 8, 2 Kings xiv. 25, 1 Chron. xiii. 5, 1 Macc. xii. 26. From the explanations just given, it becomes clear that we may consider this Hamath to be really the well-known place of that name, situated rather far north on the Orontes, not some other less known place further south.

³ Though the various names given in Num. xxxiv. 7-9, and Ezek. xlvi. 15-17, 20, xlviii. 1, are as yet far from being all identified, the meaning assigned above is in the main quite certain. A city Ssedâda,

Syriac ??, between Damascus and Homs, was found a hundred years ago by the describers of the ruins of Palmyra, see Ev. Assemâni in White's *Ev. vers. Philox.* p. 647 sq.; G. P. Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals* (London 1852) i. p. 63; also John Wilson's *Lands of the Bible* ii. p. 358: and Riblah (p. 65), which has now been identified with the singular ruins of Rabla near the sources of the Orontes (*Ausland*, April 5, 1847; *Zeitsch. der Deut. Morgenl. Ges.* 1849, p. 366), was situated, according to Num. xxxiv. 10 sq., considerably to the south of the extreme north-eastern frontier. Ha-Ain in Num. xxxiv. 11 is probably the present El'ain, south of Riblah, in Coele Syria.

⁴ Josh. xiii. 11, xii. 5, 1 Chron. v. 11.

⁵ Num. xxxii. 42.

(this last being also placed by Eusebius¹ in Hauran); and if further the Golan of old renown (in later times the land of Gaulonitis), situated east or south-east of the sea of Galilee, belonged undoubtedly, as the Book of Origins² says, to the tribe Manasseh; and in addition,³ the Arabah, or eastern side of the Jordan valley, in its whole length from the Galilean lakes to the Dead Sea, was under the power of these tribes; it is certainly a domain which, taken in its entire superficies, would not yield in extent to the whole region on the west of the Jordan. The people of Ammon, indeed, according to the earliest records, were left undisturbed by Israel in the great district around their capital Rabbah, near the centre of the country; still the extent of the territory is remarkable as the portion of so few tribes, with a population, as compared with Judah and Ephraim, by no means numerous. Even the two kingdoms conquered at the end of Moses' life (i. p. 630) were tolerably extensive.⁴ Sihon's kingdom, with Heshbon for its capital, stretched from Aroer on the northern bank of the Arnon,⁵ and Ar-Moab (i.e. Moab-city, the ancient capital), which lay further to the south among other affluents of the Dead Sea, across half the Land of Gilead, as far as the Jabbok.⁶ It thus extended northwards, in all probability, beyond Mount Gilead proper, leaving Ammon's territory free on the east, but comprising on the west the whole east side of the Jordan valley as far as the Sea of Galilee. Og's kingdom, with its capitals Ashtaroth (Karnaim) and the Edrei already mentioned (i. p. 630)—the former west, the latter east, of the modern el-Mezarib⁷—lay in the middle of the region drained by the Jarmuk, and among the true hills of Bashan,⁸ and extended far northwards to Antilibanus, east-

¹ In the Onom. under *Kavadd*.

² A city of this name is wanting in the extant form of the description of this country in Josh. xiii. 29-31, but is supplied from the Book of Origins in xx. 8, xxi. 27, as well as in Deut. iv. 43.

³ According to Josh. xii. 3.

⁴ According to the exact early descriptions in Josh. xii. 2-6, xiii. 9-12.

⁵ 2 Sam. xxiv. 5; hence it seems that for *W* in Deut. ii. 18, we ought rather to read with the LXX. *W*²*W*; although two MSS. read *W*²*W*.

⁶ Following the Onomast. of the Fathers, this river has in modern times generally been regarded as the Zerka (i.e. in Arabic *Blue river*), which enters the Dead Sea about the middle. The name, however, rather recalls the much more im-

portant Jarmuk, so called in our day as in that of Mohammed, which enters the Dead Sea farther north. For the great city Succoth (see i. p. 305, and below in the history of Gideon) is said in Gen. xxxii. 23, xxxiii. 17, to have lain south of it; and how could the journey described in Gen. xxxi-xxxiii, from the north-east to Shechem, pass over the far too southerly Zerka?

⁷ The former ancient city has been lately identified as Tell-el-'Ashtaroth, and described by Newbold in the *Journal of the R. Geogr. Soc.* xvi. p. 2. In the Middle Ages also it was a rendezvous for armies, see the *Life of Saladin* by Bahá-eldin p. 67; and by Kemál-eldin p. 119.

⁸ There we no doubt must look for the original Bashan, though the name is also used in a more extended sense.

wards as far as Salcah, and south-westwards to the mountains of Gilead.

But this only proves that the settlement of these tribes must have been conducted quite differently from that of the others. At first, indeed, the tribes which remained beyond the Jordan must have begun with great zeal the renewed culture of the devastated region; since, according to the earliest narrative,¹ they restored the old conquered cities, and gave them new names, like the Greeks under Alexander. We have also every reason to assume that these tribes in time tilled the soil in certain parts quite as industriously, and protected themselves by as strongly fortified cities as the others. Cities such as Jabesh-Gilead, whose inhabitants in Saul's time maintained a close alliance with the dwellers on the other side of the river, and steadfastly resisted the assaults of the King of Ammon;² or Mahanaim, where Saul's son, and afterwards David,³ dwelt as king; or all the Levitical cities enumerated in Josh. xx. and xxi, cannot be supposed inferior to the best cities on the western side. But along with these isolated instances of civic life, a great proportion of this population certainly continued long to prefer pastoral to agricultural pursuits. According to the earliest account which we possess of this region, the land was divided between 'strong cities' and 'cattle-villages,'⁴ such as are found among a population not yet accustomed to city life or regular husbandry; not such villages or small towns as are connected, like the open country itself, with a large town. A not unimportant district, reckoned under Manasseh, had even the direct appellation 'the Tent-villages of Jair';⁵ and the Chronicles, which have preserved the most important information respecting these particular tribes, show that this mode of life remained unaltered even after the time of David.⁶ According to the Book of Origins,⁷ the two tribes Reuben and Gad,⁸ even in Moses' time,

¹ Num. xxxii. 38; comp. i. p. 629 sq.

² 1 Sam. xi, xxxi. 11-13; 2 Sam. ii. 5-7; comp. Judges xxi. 5-12.

³ 2 Sam. ii. 8, xvii. 27-xviii.

⁴ Num. xxxii. 36. The Book of Origins in vv. 16 and 24 employs the expression in its own way, since for these regions the name נְדָרוֹת צֹאן may have been historical. The Book of Origins calls the same thing among the proper desert-tribes חֲצֵרִים נְקִירוֹת Gen. xxv. 16, Num. xxxi. 10.

⁵ The illustrative phrase in Deut. iii. 5, 1 Kings iv. 13, 'great cities with high walls and iron bars,' was no doubt true of

later times, but can hardly hit the original sense of נְדָרוֹת, which the LXX. translate in Num. xxxii. 41 by ἐπαύλεις, and in Josh. xiii. 30 by κῶμαι. At least modern travellers remark that Haurān is in many parts very fertile. This volcanic land, with its stone houses and caverns, is now much better known, through the works of Cyril Graham, Wetzstein, and Rey. See *Gott. Gel. Anz.* 1860, p. 1001 sqq., 1861, p. 241 sqq.

⁶ 1 Chron. v. 1-24.

⁷ Num. xxxiii. 1-33.

⁸ It is certainly remarkable that throughout the whole account of these

devoted themselves more to pasturage than the others, and therefore asked and obtained the Leader's permission to settle on the east of the Jordan. No doubt the habits of life peculiar to these tribes remained the same at the time when the book was written. The character of those wide-spreading forest and meadow lands, as well as the neighbourhood of the great eastern desert, favoured this half-Arab mode of life; as recent travellers observe. The kindred nations Ammon and Moab, in whose midst Israel here came to dwell, had their chief wealth in flocks and herds;¹ and the soil of the eastern slopes towards the Euphrates gradually assumed a completely Arabian character. But the old preference of these tribes for cattle-breeding and pasturage contributed greatly, where the soil also was favourable, to the perpetuation of this mode of life (i. p. 630). Thus it is very characteristic that Reuben in particular, once the most powerful of all the tribes, should have been the least willing to give up the old free life, as if from perverse pride of former greatness. But tribes which prefer pasturage to agriculture require a wide scope, and are involved in perpetual struggles for the possession of plain and hill; they are also far less bound than an agricultural population to a newly-conquered country, not being yet wholly weaned from a nomadic life. This explains the two main characteristics which we observe in these tribes: the great extent of territory over which they were dispersed, and an instability and weakness shown in many traits of their succeeding history. Very soon, indeed, the strength, cultivation, and learning of the whole nation found its centre of gravity always on the west side of the Jordan.

A further consequence of this state of things on the eastern side was soon apparent in the dependence of its scattered inhabitants on those of the western for succour and defence; and this perpetual eastward stream of armed levies evidently continued for a considerable time, before all was settled on a securer basis and led to greater tranquillity. The two tribes Reuben and Gad, who seem to have been charged from the first with the defence of this wide eastern frontier, established here so firm a footing, that they obtained possession of something like the kingdom of Sihon, the first-conquered district (i. p. 627

transactions in Num. xxxii. 1-32, mention is made only of these two tribes, and of Gilead as a land, followed in ver. 33 by an apparently incidental mention of half Manasseh, and of Bashan as a land, as if some historical memory still remained, that Manasseh came afterwards into these

regions. See above, p. 53. The mention of half Manasseh in the Samaritan version in vv. 1, 2, 25, is certainly only due to alteration of the text.

¹ According to such passages as 2 Kings iii. 4, Is. xvi. 1.

sqg.), with its town Jazer, and the half of the territory of Ammon, apparently previously lost to king Sihon, who had also possessed himself of half of the land of Moab. Heshbon, the old capital, marked the boundary-line of the two tribes' new possessions; so that all to the north of it, with the entire plain of the Jordan, fell to Gad, and all to the south of it, westward as far as the southernmost part of the Jordan, to Reuben. This at least we gather from the accounts given in the Book of Origins,¹ and from other evidence. From the Earliest Narrator also² we happen to possess a number of short but very instructive and singular accounts, bearing on the early history of those countries under the dominion of Israel; but respecting the division of the cities between Gad and Reuben a discrepancy³ exists between these two earliest authorities, which we find it difficult to reconcile. Taking the two accounts together, it would even seem doubtful whether Reuben or Gad was settled on the southern frontier marked by the river Arnon; since the most southern city, Dibon, is assigned by the Book of Origins to Reuben, by the other authority to Gad.⁴ But as the Book of Origins everywhere without exception places Reuben most to the south, and describes the territory of Gad as extending to the southern extremity of the Sea of Galilee;⁵ and as Reuben, if separated by the Dead Sea, might more easily become estranged from the rest of Israel (as will hereafter be

¹ The principal passage, Josh. xiii. 8-12, 15-33, has clearly been considerably shortened by the Deuteronomist at the beginning. Chapters xx. and xxi. as well as the mere preliminary summary contained in Num. xxxii. 3 belong to it. 1 Chron. v. 1-24 is more definite on some points bearing on later times, but otherwise quite agrees with it.

² Num. xxxii. 34-42.

³ The hypothesis that in Num. xxxii. 34, 37, there has only been a transposition of the names Gad and Reuben, is not tenable, since even then several local names on both sides would be different. In regard to the capital, Heshbon, the Book of Origins seems indeed to contradict itself, Josh. xiii. 17; comp. ver. 26, and xxi. 36 sq.; but this very circumstance may probably lead us to a correct view of the discrepancy. The difficulty may be compromised by supposing that the towns were at different times inhabited and governed by one tribe or the other. So the Book of Origins in Josh. xix. 42 sq. assigns to the tribe of Dan three cities, which according to the older narrative of Judges i. 34

sq. had originally belonged to it, but, after being long in the possession of enemies, had to be reconquered and made tributary by the more powerful neighbour-tribe Joseph (p. 62). Besides, the addition *וּבְנֵי רֶאֵוֶן* in Cod. K. 75, to Num. xxxii. 34, shows that this difficulty was early felt.

⁴ Num. xxxii. 34, Josh. xiii. 16 sq. It cannot however be shown that there was a second Dibon as well as a second Aroer. The expression *Dibon of Gad*, found in the ancient catalogue at Num. xxxiii. 45 sq. points rather to the southern city (i. p. 633). If the name Dibon-Gad, so compounded, had been common as early as Moses' time, the name Gad for this whole country must long have been usual; and we might then enquire whether it might not even be contracted from Gilead; comp. Judges v. 17. But according to established ancient tradition, these two names are after all too different to be thus treated (comp. Num. xxxii. 34 with 39 sq.); and the name Gad was also not uncommon elsewhere: comp. p. 65.

⁵ Josh. xiii. 27.

seen to be the fact), the safest supposition is that Reuben originally settled most to the south, but that some cities, from the first, or through subsequent changes, were common to the two. How much these two tribes were confounded, in later times at least, by writers belonging to the other side of the Jordan, is shown by the blessing on Gad;¹ which accounts for the many brave leaders whom this tribe could boast (Jephthah for instance), by saying that the tribe in whose dominion lies the death-place of the Great Leader (Moses) has, so to speak, chosen the leadership as its heritage :

For he looked out the leadership for himself,
Because there was the field of the hidden Lawgiver;
And he obtained chiefs of the people;
Jahveh's righteousness did he accomplish,
And his justice with Israel;

with evident reference to Nebo, where Moses disappeared; but elsewhere Nebo,² or, which is the same thing,³ Pisgah, is put in Reuben's territory.

Very differently must it have fared with the settlement of the 'half-tribe Manasseh.' The very fact that it is always called a half-tribe appears curious, especially on comparison with the similar, yet widely different, case of Dan, mentioned at p. 61. All the earliest authorities agree that the branches of Manasseh beyond the Jordan spread most extensively towards the north and north-east, over the kingdom of Og (described p. 67) and other districts. But the scattered character of this settlement, and its remoteness from the original quarters and central point of the nation, conspire with some still tolerably intelligible traditions to prove these conquests to have been made, at least in part, independently of the direction of the central authority, by successful enterprises of separate branches of the tribe Manasseh, after the time of Moses and Joshua. For the 'Tent-villages of Jair' (so called in the popular idiom), which, according to the Book of Origins, where they are called 'sixty cities,'⁴ were

¹ Deut. xxxiii. 20 sq.

² Like most verses of this Blessing, this one is expressed in very studied language; but the meaning of *the hidden*, i.e. the *now unseen*, leader, cannot (from i. p. 647) be mistaken, any more than that חֲלִיקָה, in whatever connection it occurs, signifies *the field*. To *come to anything*, is to receive or obtain it. What precise meaning among its many תְּשׁוּבָה here has, is clear enough from the general context.

³ Num. xxxii. 38.

⁴ Josh. xiii. 20; comp. Deut. xxxiv. 1, 2; 1 Chron. v. 8

⁵ Josh. xiii. 30, where sixty is perhaps substituted for the thirty in Judges x. 4 (although sixty is found also in 1 Kings iv. 13), because this round number comes nearer to the twenty-three in 1 Chron. ii. 22, which seems the original number; while the sixty, according to the words (certainly somewhat corrupt) in 1 Chron. ii. 23, may have originated in the combination of the twenty-three with thirty-seven similar cities of Kenath. The original name of this district was Argob (retained in Deut. iii. 4, 13, and 1 Kings iv. 13); a still surer proof that Jair was really the name of a

given by Moses to the tribe Manasseh, are by the Earliest Narrator¹ referred simply to a conquest by a certain Jair, son of Manasseh,² without any definite allusion to Moses. As this expression 'Son of Manasseh' might be understood in the same sense as when Gilead is called a son of Manasseh (see i. p. 382) it is fortunate that from another ancient tradition³ we know Jair to have been a real man of Israel—a Judge who, as will presently appear, lived there about the first century after Joshua, and immortalised himself by this conquest and dominion. According to the same narrator,⁴ a certain Nobah, not further described, but certainly belonging to the tribe of Manasseh, also conquered for himself the Kenath already mentioned at p. 66, which according to another old account⁵ comprehended sixty cities, or in other words the whole of Hauran, and was sometimes called Nobah after the conqueror.⁶ The acquisition also of the other and nearer territories of Manasseh is ascribed by this narrator⁷ to an isolated enterprise, sanctioned by Moses only after its accomplishment. Indeed, the very reflection that a flourishing tribe like Manasseh could not be so utterly split up except as the result of some great internal convulsion, must lead us to regard all those territories beyond the Jordan in which the several branches of the tribe sought free scope for growth, as separate conquests by individual chiefs. Even the Book of Origins speaks on this tribe less decidedly (p. 68 sq.), and it will be presently seen that this eastern direction was that in which the tribes in later times spread most widely.

How difficult all these eastern tribes found it to coalesce into

Hebrew leader. This name still exists in the place called Rajeb, west of Gerasa; and as the name of a town *'Payaßá'* is found in Josephus.

¹ Num. xxxii. 41.

² In the same way as in later times Jephthah is called the son of Gilead, Judges xi. 1. According to the fuller account he belonged by descent to Judah, and was only adopted into the tribe Manasseh through his grandmother, 1 Chron. ii. 21–23. This change of tribe has already been alluded to, i. p. 382.

³ Judges x. 3–5.

⁴ Num. xxxii. 42.

⁵ 1 Chron. ii. 23, according to which he is also reckoned to Manasseh. There is no doubt that before *אֶת־קֵנַת* several words have been dropped, in which Nobah was inserted in the pedigree of the tribe, and mention made of his conquest. The sense probably was, that he had con-

quered the twenty-three cities of Jair, and in addition, subdued thirty-seven of Kenath; sixty in all.

⁶ Num. xxxii. 42. Nobah was perhaps the present Nowa *نوى*, to the east of the Sea of Galilee, and west of Hauran; this is an ancient town, mentioned even in Abulfidá's *Géographie*, p. 253, from which a well-known Arabic author is called el Navavi: see however the observations on i. p. 629, note. According to the Chron. Sam. xii, xxiii, xxxiv–xxxvii, where this chief is named *نبی* (i.e. Barker!), he was

an uncle's son (i.e. in Arabic, a near relation) of Joshua, by whom he was installed as *king* over the two-and-a-half tribes and all Peræa; but the diffuse descriptions of all this are evidently drawn from the author's imagination.

⁷ Num. xxxii. 39 sq.

one compact body is shown in their manifold appellations, not one of which was entirely satisfactory. Certainly among these the name most frequent and most widely used was Gilead. Properly belonging to a mountain-ridge south of the Zerka, still called so, and famous from the earliest times as a national boundary (i. p. 347), this name might easily denote the land between the Zerka and the nearest southern affluent of the Jordan.¹ But the Book of Covenants gives the name rather to the land north of the mountains, formerly held by king Og;² while Deborah calls Gad's dominion Gilead;³ and in common parlance the more southern districts were generally comprised under this name.⁴ Bashan, on the other hand (according to p. 67), was originally only the mountainous region around Og's two capital cities; but as this was the first northern region known to the people, the name came to be very commonly used of all the possessions of Israel north and east of Mount Gilead. Much less frequently is the name Manasseh,⁵ or even (according to p. 52) Machir,⁶ employed in the same sense. The before-mentioned Tent-villages of Jair, which according to the earliest traditions were a somewhat later conquest, were originally back-settlements of this kingdom of Bashan,⁷ and are thus sometimes reckoned as belonging to it;⁸ but they also constituted in themselves the district of Argob, already mentioned at p. 71, note 5. It is not now possible to determine their exact position, but they appear to have filled up the space between the oft-named city of Ramoth-Gilead and Kenath, which was only again occupied much later, in the extreme north-east (p. 72). The name *Hauran*, i.e. Cavern-land, for the cavernous mountain-ranges in the north-east (mentioned p. 68), sounds⁹ rather Aramaic than Hebraic, and is actually found first in Ezekiel.¹⁰ The very general term the *Land Beyond* (Peræa) appears first in the Grecian period, and was restricted by usage to signify only the south country, as far as the Sea of Galilee. And thus no common name for all these countries ever became generally current.

¹ Probably the river Heshbon, according to the expressions in Josh. xii. 2, 5, xiii. 31.

² Num. xxxii. 39 sq.

³ Judges v. 17.

⁴ In the passage, 1 Kings iv. 19, where, however, as we see from vv. 13, 14, only the southernmost country can be intended; the name of Bashan is probably only added by an early error.

⁵ Ps. lx. 9.

⁶ Even 'half Machir,' Book of Origins, Josh. xiii. 31; comp. Num. xxxii. 39, and Judges v. 14.

⁷ This important circumstance follows from the expression מְנַחֵם, Num. xxxii.

41; for this *their* can refer only to ver. 39 sq.; also in 1 Kings iv. 13, they appear only as a subsidiary land to Ramoth, which is the present Reimun, north of the Zerka, where there is a mountain range even now named *Jalūd*.

⁸ As is most distinctly seen in Deut. iii. 14; the Book of Origins speaks more precisely, Josh. xiii. 30; on the other hand in 1 Chron. ii. 22 Gilead is named.

⁹ According to my *Lehrbuch*, § 36 a.

¹⁰ Ezek. xlvii. 16, 18.

Now as Israel so early and at first so bravely pushed its conquests beyond the Jordan, pressing farther and farther northward, it ought in the natural order of things to have subdued Damascus; since only the possession of this richest and loveliest district would properly complete its northern and eastern frontier. And we have indeed every reason to believe that the eyes of the nation were at first bent in that direction. Damascus had in olden times been closely connected with Abraham (i. p. 311 sq.); and the city Hobah, to the north of Damascus, whither he once pursued his enemies in war,¹ may mark the boundary-line which a Hebrew of the earliest age would have traced for himself. But in the long interval of Israel's sojourn in Egypt, and perhaps even during the onward movement of the Hyksôs thither, the Arameans had evidently pushed farther and farther southwards; certainly up to the time of Moses they must have established themselves in such force in Damascus, that it was then out of the question for Israel to think seriously of the conquest. Indeed it was just at that time that the most violent hostility raged between Israel and the Arameans on this north-eastern frontier. How far the Arameans then forced their way even into Canaan is shown by the strictly Aramaic name of Hadad-Rimmon, a city in the territory of the tribe of Issachar.² Not till after Joshua, but certainly in still early times, renown was won in this region not only by Othniel (of whom we shall speak presently), but still more by Jair of the tribe Manasseh, in battle with Arameans and Aborigines,³ from whom he conquered the district already mentioned at p. 72 sq. But valiantly as the contest was long kept up against these enemies, Israel could not prevent two little kingdoms in the north-east from maintaining their independence within her own borders. One of these was the Aramean Maachah, probably extending to the east of the sources of the Jordan;⁴ and the other belonged to the Aborigines, and was called Geshur (i.e. properly *Bridge*), probably to the south of the first, where a place still exists, on the upper Jordan between the two northern lakes, bearing the name Jesr banât Jakob (i.e. *Jacob's daughters' bridge*), which perhaps contains a reference to still earlier days.⁵ These two little kingdoms are generally

¹ Gen. xiv. 15.

² Zech. xii. 11.

³ This may be deduced from the words 1 Chron. ii. 22 sq.; comp. with what will be said below of Jair.

⁴ Because the city Abel, with the affix Beth-maachah according to 1 Kings xv. 20, 2 Kings xv. 29, was evidently situated not far from Dan; and an Abil (*el Kamch*, or

further north *el-Havâ*) north-west of Dan, has also been discovered there by the most recent travellers. Comp. also 2 Sam. x. 6, 8, Gen. xxiii. 24.

⁵ See further upon this and other localities in the same neighbourhood, the '*Reise Ibrahim el-Khijari's*,' by Tuch, Leipsic 1850.

mentioned together;¹ and they existed till after David's time. But unfortunately we do not even know what were Israel's most northern towns in this region, the accounts in the Book of Origins being now so much curtailed.²

II. SURVEY OF THE SETTLEMENT AND BOUNDARIES OF THE WHOLE NATION.

Judging by these particular cases, we might be tempted to attribute the establishment of all the tribes to chance-invasions in any direction where some one tribe or family saw fit to quarter themselves; but this would be an absolute inversion of historical truth. It must indeed be conceded, that in these settlements chance—that is, momentary expediency or the self-will of individuals—played a considerable part. This is the inevitable inference from the preceding exposition; and any one who may profess himself unable fully to perceive this, ought at least to receive instruction from the author of the Book of Origins, who, with the eagle-glance of his legislative wisdom, discerns as the weak point of the national settlement the scattered and isolated condition of the tribes beyond the Jordan; and therefore makes Moses hesitate in giving his assent to their settling there.³ And there is no reason to doubt that this Narrator has rightly seized and correctly reported Moses' opinion. For even supposing that the Prophet sought Canaan only as the beautiful land of the Fathers, not because it was like a well-fenced garden, specially adapted to let his people live 'separate, unmixed, and secure,'⁴ between the sea, Lebanon, the Jordan, and the southern desert; yet no great legislator could fail to perceive that the strength of his people must lie in their limitation to the western side and its complete subjugation, their weakness in their dispersion over the land beyond the Jordan, which was entirely exposed towards Damascus and other kingdoms.

Had Israel's first invasion from the south (i. p. 611 sqq.) been successful, only the southernmost part of Canaan might perhaps

¹ Josh. xii. 5, xiii. 11, 13; Deut. iii.

² The two ancient capitals are the only cities now named in Josh. xiii. 31.

³ Num. xxxii. 1–33; comp. Josh. xxii.

⁴ These expressions occur first in somewhat later writers; they are first of all put by the Fifth Narrator into the mouth of Balaam in Num. xxiii. 9; then borrowed from that passage in Micah vii. 14 and Deut. xxxiii. 28. But in the first

passage the stress is laid more upon the religious separation and entire difference of Israel from other nations, in the others on security from external enemies, such as is ascribed in Jer. xlix. 31, though again in a different sense, to the Nomads. The natural security of Palestine is further illustrated in the Book of Aristæus (after Haverkamp's Josephus ii. p. 114).

have become the seat of empire, whence the land southwards, perhaps as far as Sinai, might have been held in possession. To this southern Canaan Israel was especially attracted by the most vivid traditions of the Patriarchal period. It would then have had few enemies to overcome, except the Amalekites and other such Aborigines, against whom even Moses had never scrupled to fight. It might then have gained a country of small extent, but more compact, and therefore easier to defend, since the steep mountain-ridges of Judah would have formed a secure wall of defence, and the wide southern desert a refuge in the last extremity; as the Amalekites had doubtless hitherto found it. But this southern border of the land was then still inhabited by the most warlike races (p. 56 sq.). This and other causes prevented the success of the first serious attempt. After this failure Israel had entered Canaan from a side where, from the more open country and the great divisions among its inhabitants, it was easiest of conquest; but where the distances to be covered were far greater, and the Canaanites were Israel's deadliest foe. The lands now subjugated were more difficult to hold; but this material difficulty might prove a salutary means of strengthening the higher qualities of the people, and testing their fidelity to the true religion.

For after all, there is no land on this earth so well secured by natural boundaries against every possible attack and success on the part of its enemies, as to rely wholly on such external defences, even when held by one united nation and government. If Israel at an earlier period had desired only the possession of southern Canaan, or afterwards the country on this side the river, with the vast and dangerous desert on the south, the sea on the west, Lebanon on the north, and the valley of the Jordan on the east; it still would not have been perfectly secure against attack, if only because the Jordan can be crossed without much difficulty. To occupy the mountains on the east of the Jordan must therefore have appeared only a wise precaution; just as the Maccabean Princes, when they could move freely, strove always to obtain possession of those districts (Peræa) with their mountain ranges, and to protect them by strong fortresses. But even so, towards the powerful Damascus the country still remains too open. On the east the first safe boundary is the Euphrates; and thither, no less than to Taurus with its narrow passes on the north, will every race ruling in Lebanon strive to extend its dominion; as is clearly shown by the history of Israel, in David's time especially. Of keeping possession of so extensive a region no wise man could dream in

the time of Moses or those immediately succeeding him; and it soon became evident that even on the western side, between Lebanon and the desert, the old inhabitants still possessed a power of stout resistance. It is true that dominion over all lands between the Euphrates, Lebanon, the Mediterranean, and the great southern deserts (poetically called 'the ends of the land'), was always regarded by the aspiring spirits of the nation as the ultimate right and final aim of Israel, glorified by poets, and even sanctioned in the words of prophecy.¹ But the reality generally corresponded little to this ideal standard, justified though it might be by the early history of the people of Jahveh. The immediate aim could be only to secure a firm footing on the western side of the Jordan, and of the other side to guard only as much as was absolutely required for safety. This view comes out distinctly in whatever we can now venture to regard as a true utterance from the ancient kingdom of Israel.² And the people had in those early times courage and life enough to stand their ground among foes of every kind, quite independently of any considerations of so-called 'natural boundaries' (that deluding phantom, by which so many modern German scholars have allowed themselves to be miserably led astray). Not till much later, in the eighth century before Christ, when they had experienced painfully enough, in quite a new form, the intermixture of strangers from afar (Assyrians, Egyptians, and others), did the 'dwelling separate as in a well-fenced garden' (noted on p. 75) take the form of a lofty aspiration necessary for the maintenance of their purity and independence.

Although therefore at the first occupation of the land it was impossible to constitute at once a compact dominion, securely bounded on every side, and in the throes of a nation's birth and growth many a freak of individual caprice might mingle; yet, apart from such tricks of chance, a distinct general plan guiding the first settlement of the people is clearly discernible,—such a plan as would naturally grow out of the original relations of the tribes among themselves (described at i. p. 362 sqq.), and their new organisation (p. 46 sqq.) under the guidance

¹ Josh. i. 4, Gen. xv. 18–21, Zech. ix. 10, Ps. lxxii. 8. Through David and Solomon this ideal gained new strength, and became thenceforward the national standard; yet it would be wrong to overlook its early justification in the history of Joshua.

² The Book of Origins therefore in Num. xxxiv. 1–15 defines the boundaries very distinctly with exclusive reference to this side of the Jordan, as if the farther side

were only an appendage to this. This description, which recurs, somewhat altered, in Ezek. xlvi. 15–20, and was transferred at a very late period into the *Chron. Sam.* xxii, where it is given with the later interpretation of local names, is especially important on account of the variableness of the northern and southern boundaries, which it determines evidently on good early authority.

of a higher intelligence ruling in their midst. When any territory, large or small, was so far conquered that by the expulsion or entire subjugation of its former inhabitants, it could be divided among the conquerors, it was divided among individuals as equally as possible, in shares or lots, resembling the Greek *Kleruchia* (p. 28). This is certain, independently of the sacred forms of expression mentioned at p. 27 sqq.; since we know that by the ancient law and constitution of Israel every citizen was to possess a landed heritage.¹ A leading mind must therefore of course have been active from the first in every tribe, and even for the whole nation there must in those early times have been a presiding power, directing as far as possible the entire process of settlement.

For in the centre of Canaan, around the Sanctuary of the whole nation, and under the rule of their great leader, we see the ancient and powerful tribe of Joseph-Ephraim take its place, encircled on the north by Joseph-Manasseh, and on the south by Benjamin. Thus in the middle of the newly conquered land we again find together those three tribes which (according to i. p. 373 sqq.) had hitherto always been most closely united, and had acquired a sort of precedence, which on Moses' death was fortunately well supported by Joshua, a man from their midst. Next to them came naturally in order the six sons of Leah, divided into four and two tribes, except that among the four Levi could no longer be reckoned. Now at the time of the partition, the southern portion of the country must have seemed much the nearest to the centre, because Israel entered from the south, and was far better acquainted with the southern districts than with the northern.² And thus, in the true spirit of the early national institutions, we see the three eldest take their place in the south, and precisely according to their original order of precedence: Reuben in the south-east, Simeon in the south-west, Judah between the latter and Joseph-Benjamin. This arrangement might easily lead to the result that Reuben, the lover of pastoral life and possessor of an ancient precedence, took immediate possession of the first-conquered land in the south beyond the Jordan, as most suitable for his purposes. Judah is next seen, first pressing forward towards the north (p. 55 sq.), as if to force a way for the two tribes Issachar and Zebulon; and there, north of Joseph, these two tribes actually establish themselves, exactly in the order in which from the

¹ See my *Alterthümer*, p. 201 sq.

² Very much as with Lot's two nations, if, according to p. 10, Moab (Lot's 'eldest

son) took up his abode in the south, and Ammon to the north of him,

very beginning they stood to each other, first Issachar, then Zebulon. But Judah thereupon turns back to the south, which properly belongs to him, and with Simeon appropriates the whole southern country on the western side of the river. When four of Leah's sons have thus encamped themselves on the north and south around the strong central seat of government, and the turn comes to the four subordinate tribes, we see these, as we should expect, pushed back the furthest, and doomed to find quarters for themselves in the remotest districts. Thus it comes to pass that Dan, the eldest adopted son of Rachel, places himself on the west of Joseph-Benjamin, being thus furthest from the centre to the westward, while Asher and Naphtali, already reckoned in the military system (according to p. 47) as the two last tribes, are pushed back furthest towards the unknown north: and Gad, already closely connected in the military arrangement with Reuben (p. 47), has to guard the north-eastern frontier, beginning from the southern extremity of the Sea of Galilee. All four subordinate tribes thus encompassed the frontier of the other tribes towards the unknown north, with a long narrow crescent; while on the more familiar south, Reuben and Judah-Simeon kept the borders. But in the act of the half Manasseh, which passes out of these twelve territories, determined by anything but chance, and seeks far to the north-east a freer range, we find a fresh sign that other impulses also were at work; and what has been already said on this subject (p. 53, 71 sq.) receives here further confirmation from another point of view.

The establishment of the tribes of Israel in precisely this order and relative position affords therefore no small evidence for the trustworthiness of the ancient traditions respecting their origin (i. p. 362 sqq.); since for even the occasional departures from the old sacred order and number, in arrangements affecting the whole future of the nation, good and sufficient reasons exist. For a strictly rigorous adherence to that order and number was in fact no longer possible even in Moses' time and the period immediately succeeding; so new and so imperious were the circumstances and the new conditions of those days. But as the old sacred number (according to i. p. 375 sqq.) after every disturbance tended always to renew itself, so, wherever free play was allowed, either in the great national relations, or in language and poetry only, the arrangement always coincided pretty closely at last with the old fundamental plan. In the organisation of the field and the camp, a peculiar distribution of the tribes was required

(p. 47), but even there the ranks open and close essentially in accordance with traditional affinities. The poet is less bound by the actual facts of his day, and is free to restore the original Twelve in such order as his object or his imagination requires; and it is plain that, in taking possession of conquered Canaan, the tribes had been somewhat thrown out of their original order. When therefore the writer of Jacob's Blessing in Gen. xlix (i. p. 71 sq.), living towards the end of the period of the Judges, when the tribes were already so separated and disorganised, desires to picture them once more closely united, he returns in the main to the old sacred order, which is the most natural in the mouth of Jacob, yet prefers to place the four subordinate tribes together, between the six of Leah and the two of Rachel; and arranges them, as might be expected from a Judean poet, as they would appear to one looking northward from Judah.¹ Then he places Zebulon before Issachar, merely because he had better things to say of the former than of the latter. On the other hand, his imitator in the Blessing of Moses in Deut. xxxiii, places the two tribes of Rachel (with Benjamin first) immediately after Judah, because he (according to i. p. 128 sqq.) takes Jerusalem as his starting-point. Thus the six remaining tribes are to him little more than Galilee.² In later times, Ezekiel acts with still greater freedom in arranging the twelve tribes like twelve city-gates according to the four points of the compass;³ thus endeavouring, after his wont, to reconcile the claims of true Mosaic antiquity with those of the present. With greater freedom still, John in the Apocalypse so treats the subject on Christian principles, that the preeminence of Levi wholly disappears.⁴ Yet each of these writers adheres in other respects as closely to the original order as was compatible with his purpose.

III. LEVI'S PORTION.

We have yet another testimony on this subject, in the forty-eight Levitical cities, which the Book of Origins represents as

¹ Dan, Gad; Asher, Naphtali.

² Gad, Dan; Naphtali, Asher.

³ Ezek. xlviii. 31-34. As Reuben, Judah, and Levi appear on the first side, while the second begins with Joseph, and the third with Simeon, there can be no difficulty in filling up the list; but each pair of threes should evidently contain six closely connected tribes, headed in the one case by Reuben, in the other by Simeon.

⁴ This is especially to be noticed in Rev. vii. 5-8. John so far follows Ezekiel as

to make Simeon the seventh. But it appears as if in accordance with the same Christian principles, he wished to assign to the bastard tribes a higher place; for he makes Gad the third, following Reuben, and followed by Asher, Naphtali, and Dan. So far is the author of the Apocalypse from being, as his calumniators now-a-days assert, truly Jewish at heart. See my *Johann. Schriften* ii. p. 188 sq. On the order of the Twelve in the Chronicles, see i. p. 178 sqq.

set apart by Joshua in obedience to a preliminary ordinance by Moses himself; thus connecting their appointment with the entire partition of the country under Joshua.¹ As, among other reasons, the Levites were to become the regular teachers of the people, their distribution, as equally as possible throughout the country, was as suitable as the provision made for their subsistence in fixed allotments of land. And as they, like all the branches of Israel, had formed a tribe, and doubtless would prefer still to dwell together as far as possible, it was so arranged, that each lay tribe, out of its conquered territory, should set apart for the Levites associated with it some conveniently placed cities, where they might live together, and yet be easily sought and consulted by the laity.² As the reverence of early days had consecrated to God a portion of every conquest and every spoil, each tribe now consecrated to the Holy One a portion of the cities of its land. In truth some clear instances show that wherever possible such cities were selected as already possessed a traditional sanctity.³ The Levites, however, not being destined to agriculture, held with each city only the meadows thereto belonging for the pasturage of some cattle, but not its arable land or homesteads; thus the ancient city of Hebron became a priestly city, but its land devolved upon Caleb.⁴ It is clear that each tribe, on an average, would have to appropriate four cities to this purpose; only in a very few cases, and for special reasons, was this number somewhat altered. The great tribe of Judah, and Simeon, gave nine together; Naphtali, only three. Six of the forty-eight were to serve as Cities of Refuge⁵—three on each side of the Jordan, in the north, middle, and south of the land; and as the country beyond the Jordan had only ten Levitical cities, this is additional evidence of the wide extent of those territories (p. 66 sq.). And the distribution of the three then existing main

¹ Num. xxxv, Josh. xx. sq.; and thence abbreviated in Deut. iv. 41–43; 1 Chron. vi. 39–66 [54–81]. It is also evident that the three sacred Cities of Refuge beyond the Jordan, mentioned in Deuteronomy as already set apart by Moses, were according to Josh. xx. first definitely appointed by the National Assembly under Joshua. This is to be explained from i. p. 120.

² On this point also compare my *Alterthümer*. Anything perfectly analogous to this in history would perhaps be difficult to find, since nowhere can we follow so distinctly as here the passing of an entire tribe into the priestly dignity. Yet Egypt affords certain remote parallels: Heliopolis, according to Strabo xvii. 1, was almost exclusively a priestly city. So in India Benares is the great Brahmanical city.

³ This is obvious of Shechem in the tribe of Ephraim, from Gen. xxxiii. 20, xxxv. 4; of Hebron, from i. p. 305; also of the northernmost city Kadesh, whose very name (as with the city of Kadesh in the extreme south, i. p. 616) attests its ancient sanctity. In cities of refuge, which these three were, such considerations must have had special weight.

⁴ Josh. xxi. 11 sq.; comp. p. 56 sq.

⁵ See my *Alterthümer*, p. 196 sqq.

branches of the Levites (i. p. 364) harmonised entirely with the spirit in which the tribes themselves were distributed (p. 78 sq.): the branch Kohath, then ranking highest because Aaron's family belonged to it, obtained a place among the five and a half (really six) tribes in the south of the western side, as far as the centre; the branch next in rank, Gershom, among the three and a half tribes in the north (except Zebulon on the Sea of Galilee); the last branch, Merari, among this tribe Zebulon on the western, and Gad and Reuben on the eastern side of the Jordan. All this points plainly to the same superior intelligence which from the first directed all these national arrangements from one fixed centre; but it also indicates a far distant primal age, when every tribe accounted it an honour and a duty to be accompanied in expeditions or in settlements by a due proportion of Levites. Now it is certainly unquestionable, that all these forty-eight cities did not long remain in the peaceful possession of the Levites. The tribe Dan, so soon reduced in power, would not be able to protect its four Levitical cities. Indeed, the entire system fell into confusion, as is clear not only from its never being mentioned in later times as still existing, but still more from the fact that at a later period quite different places appear as Levitical cities, in which the Levites, driven from their first abodes, had taken refuge.¹ But to conclude from this, that the Book of Origins had no historic ground for its account of these appointments, would be very precipitate. The Levites would not so soon forget their original portion in the land; and the author of the Book of Origins had no doubt good reasons in his day for perpetuating the memory of the enactment of these ancient institutions. And thus we have here also a noteworthy testimony to the condition of the community in the earliest period of its abode in Canaan.

To complete the entire picture, we must also remember that, exactly in the middle of the western side, an especial and no doubt tolerably large domain was set apart for the city Shiloh as the seat of the national sanctuary and the residence of the High Priest; but of this we have already (p. 49 sq.) spoken.

¹ A distinct instance occurs in the case of Nob in the time of Saul, 1 Sam. xxi. 2 [1] sqq. Gezer in Ephraim, Josh. xxi. 21, 1 Chron. vi. 62, is an example of a city afterwards occupied for centuries by the Canaanites. Anathoth in Benjamin, Josh.

xxi. 18 (comp. 1 Kings ii. 26 and the Book of Jeremiah), is an instance of a small town which always belonged to the Levites; so also is Bethshemesh in Judah, Josh. xviii. 16; comp. 1 Sam. vi. 12-16.

IV. THE GOVERNMENT ON THE DEATH OF JOSHUA.

It is proved, then, by these great facts, that after Joshua had laid down his military leadership, and even after his death, there subsisted in the midst of the great community a certain government, which watched and presided over the general interests, and might moreover be accounted a true and direct continuation of Moses' and Joshua's rule. Yet on looking more closely, we see that it rested upon very weak human foundations. It is indeed far from easy to us now to gain any near view at all of this government, since it evidently did not long maintain its full preeminence, but was gradually weakened and crippled, so that the men of later times retained only an obscure reminiscence of it. But its existence, which is involved in the natural progression of the history, is still sufficiently manifest from many indications.

We see from i. p. 558 sqq. that in days when a pure Theocracy still flourished, we must not imagine this government to have been of a very simple form, still less the rule of one man. So far as it can be expressed in any single word, this government is certainly indicated by the name of the 'Elders,' who, according to old tradition, ruled prosperously after Joshua, and finally closed the whole sublime period in which the community was founded and organised, and theocracy flourished in its most vigorous bloom.¹ The Old Testament records do not specify the duration of their power, but let it appear that it cannot have been very long.² When we try to picture these Elders to ourselves, we must assuredly think of the 70-72 Elders, who, according to a fine legend, even Moses' spirit strengthened for a higher life and activity in the community (i. p. 566, 597) — elders, therefore, out of all the twelve tribes, either always assembled in the central point of the kingdom (Shechem, see p. 50 sq.), or represented there by a standing committee, invested by them with the permanent authority.³ They were however not

¹ On all this see my *Alterthümer*, p. 284 sqq., 354 sqq.

² This follows from the only words now found in the Old Testament on this subject, Josh. xxiv. 31; comp. Judges ii. 7-10. More definite notices respecting its duration are however found in other books.

³ As the 'seventy-seven elders of Succoth' in Judges viii. 14 (from vv. 6, 14, comp. 16) probably included five or seven actual 'Princes' or Governors, besides seventy-two or seventy ordinary Elders or Counsellors. Even in the Middle Ages the

graves of the Seventy Elders were supposed to be visible near Avarta, not far from Shechem. See Hottinger's *Cippi Hebr.* p. 53; Carmoly's *Itinéraires* p. 386 sq., 445; while the graves of Eldad and Medad, the only two of the seventy appointed personally by Moses who are mentioned by name in Num. xi. 26 sq., and respecting whom later writers therefore gave free scope to their imagination (see i. p. 650 note), were naturally sought for and found beyond the Jordan. Undoubtedly the renown of these seventy-two

actually chosen by the people, but were the born 'Princes' and representatives of a people possessing class-distinctions, and were arranged in an order corresponding to that of the families themselves; while in cases of ultimate appeal the authority of the Elders yielded to that of the entire great Assembly. But it was only natural in that age that the Elders of the tribe of Ephraim should have precedence and take the immediate lead in all things. In reality, therefore, it was almost always on the noblest families of Ephraim that the principal charge and responsibility devolved. It requires no explanation, that in great emergencies this High Council could confer more or less power on a single individual; though, strictly speaking, this could only be for a definite purpose and limited period.

But this High Council (or whoever, in rare cases, exercised its authority) was bound not only to act by the existing laws, but also, in all questions either of extreme public importance or of unusual obscurity, to listen to the 'Mouth of Jahveh,' i.e. the Oracle. In no well-ordered state of ancient times might the *Word of God* be disregarded; it was on the contrary generally consulted by the leaders with too great eagerness and scrupulosity. It was a matter of course in this one theocratic nation, after the wonderful works of Moses, that nothing decisive should be undertaken without 'consulting the Mouth of Jahveh.' The oldest legal authorities, accordingly, say not a word on the subject; and the Book of Origins is the first to consider it necessary, in the case of Joshua and Eleazar, to establish a precedent for all similar cases.¹ But, as it cannot be expected that so extraordinary a Prophet as Moses would always be present in the Assembly, the office of High Priest, with its unbroken continuity, must fill his place. Thus the High Priest, with his finally decisive Word of God, and his presidency in the popular Assembly, became by this arrangement, though only incidentally, the one individual on whom alone the highest charge and responsibility rested, and from whom was expected all that was greatest and best, as well as all that was holiest; as if the natural tendency to a stricter unity of human leadership in the state could not be entirely repressed, even here where the fundamental principles of government were so opposed to it.²

It is hence apparent of what importance to such a state must be the capacity and the whole character of each hereditary

revived in new lustre in the third and last period of this history; but even the later Arabs in their word *أبدال* still preserve most curious traditions of them and their

number.

¹ Num. xxvii. 16-23.

² On all this see my *Alterthümer*, pp. 299 sqq., 345 sqq.

High Priest. His dignity, in political no less than in sacerdotal matters, must ultimately depend upon an amicable cooperation with the 'Elders,' and the rest of the national Assembly; and the tie which united him to these, depending wholly upon a fitting enunciation of 'God's Word,' was one most delicate in its nature. But the introduction of a Buddhist or Jesuit priestly rule could not be thought of in that community of Jahveh, nor in that age, when the strength and integrity of the people were still quite unbroken, and Moses' light still illumined all with its brightness. But, as if the magic of the sublime Mosaic period, and the spirit of the men whom he had formed, were potent enough even in the third generation to produce priests and leaders worthy of him, we now see in Aaron's grandson Phinehas, Eleazar's son, long after the first settlement of the people, a High Priest whom none could have surpassed in that delicate handling which preserved unbroken the good understanding between the Elders and the rest of the national Assembly. While still young, he distinguished himself by bold decision and indefatigable energy in the duties of his office; so much so that the Book of Origins can represent him, even in Moses' last days, as a typical scion of the sacerdotal line; with whom were bound up all the best hopes of enduring power and rule for the High Priest's office.¹ Of the events and actions of his later life we have now no full record; but one isolated fact, of which we have certain information, helps much to fill up the picture. His father Eleazar, the contemporary and friend of Joshua, was presented, like Joshua himself (p. 39), by the grateful people with a considerable landed estate, certainly not very far from Shiloh, where also he was buried. But the people gave to the whole place the permanent appellation *Phinehas' Hill*²—a sure token of the high consideration in which Phinehas was held throughout his long life, and a proof that in popular estimation he ranked even higher than his father. Had not such men, God's own visible representatives to the people, ordering in his name all things temporal and spiritual, borne rule in Canaan during that first period, in which Israel's national

¹ Num. xxv. 7-13, xxxi. 6.

² Josh. xxiv. 33; the exact site of this Gibeah, and whether it was the same place as the priestly city Geba in Benjamin, mentioned in Josh. xxi. 17, is still uncertain. Besides this, Phinehas is once named, in Judges xx. 28, but only incidentally, to mark a period of time. Rabbinical conceit at last made out a close analogy between the fiery zealot Phinehas

and Elijah; hence originated also the singular story of the government having passed from Joshua to the Judges, now found (though, like the whole book, with many errors) in Hamza's *Arab. Annals* p. 89 sq. A king أبلاخ, who is there said to have ruled over Israel *before* the Judges, is so far an enigma, unless the word may be in some way a corruption of Abimelech.

life was being fashioned into its abiding shape, there never could have arisen a form of speech so singular among such a people and under such a religion, as that which applied to such a presiding authority the actual name 'God:' one of the most remarkable characteristics of that age which has been preserved, but which at a later period wholly disappears.¹

But with this Phinehas the series of great High Priests and successors of Aaron appears, as it were, broken off abruptly; and till we come to Eli, who commences a new series, scarcely the very names of these priests have been preserved.² We have now no distinct information how and why their power gradually declined; but this decline coincides plainly with the general dissolution of the strict national unity established by Moses. For even the power of the 'Elders' soon disappears. Throughout all succeeding centuries, indeed, the rightful leading tribe Ephraim still asserted its claims. Without its consent and cooperation no war could be undertaken or carried on; for centuries this privilege was insisted on, and the dignity of generalship as persistently claimed by the tribe.³ Down into the days of the monarchy, these ancient pretensions of Ephraim to the first place among the tribes are tenaciously adhered to, causing even then violent convulsions. But Ephraim could never again elevate the entire nation to a strong and permanent unity. Still less did Ephraim dare to appoint a leader from the centre of the kingdom to Joshua's dictatorship. At first there was doubtless a feeling, that, after the great work had been completed in the conquest of the land, such extraordinary powers might be dispensed with; and afterwards, however needed, the office could not be reinstituted.

Still, however, the priestly tribe, equally distributed among all the others, with especial charge of the true religion and its unchanging institutions, formed within the kingdom a higher unity, obviously intended in this very distribution; and certainly nothing was for all those centuries so close a bond between the tribes, as the position, distribution, and function of the priestly tribe. But even this strongest bond gave way gradually when the High-Priesthood itself lost by degrees its first power, and when in the course of centuries many members even of the priestly class yielded more and more to the moral corruption which lurked in their midst. That such was truly the case, will be more fully shown hereafter.

¹ It is found only in Ex. xxi. 6, xxii. 7 [8] sq. Judges v. 8, 1 Sam. ii. 26; all of them antique forms of speech.

cognised authority, can now be only approximately known.

² Judges viii. 1 sqq., xii. 1 sqq.

³ How long the Elders wielded the re-

B. INSULATION OF THE TRIBES; RELAXATION OF THE NATIONAL BOND; POPULAR FREEDOM.

I. RELAXATION OF THE NATIONAL BOND.

The strict unity of the constitution and the power of the original theocracy were thus early shattered, because in its pride in the one invisible King as its only true lord, the nation excluded as unnecessary any human ruler, and thus lost only too soon the sole bond which could hold firmly together its separate forces. And this is certainly the strongest and most lasting cause of the national disorganisation which followed. But, on the other hand, much was also owing to the ancient mutual jealousy of some of the tribes, which could perhaps be repressed in the sublime days of Moses by the grandeur and difficulty of the great common aim and the fresh energy of true religion, but had free play again now that aim had attained something like fulfilment. Even the secure settlement of the tribes over the wide expanse of the conquered country—which naturally tends to attach each member of a people more strongly to his special soil and its aims and interests—may have contributed still more to break up the national unity. With the completion of the settlement of all the tribes commences their insulation and the relaxation of the national tie; as has been already set forth in general terms, p. 37 sqq. If we knew precisely in which decad after Joshua to place Deborah's song, it would afford us a sure standard for the chronology of this disorganising progress; since it characterises the tribes most graphically, describing both their fixed habitations and their already remarkable insulation from one another. But, as will presently appear, the date of this song and of Deborah herself can be only approximately conjectured.

Now where the old forces of government are crumbling gradually away, there arises, with the advancing civilisation of the people, a preponderating tendency to the extension of popular freedom among the lower class; and in Israel this tendency gained strength the more easily from the large measure of actual freedom existing from the first in their community (i. p. 559 sqq.), and indeed required by Jahveism itself. Thus Democracy, not known till far later among the Greeks, was early developed in Israel; it became, indeed, the normal condition of the separate tribes and communities during every quiet period of this age. But the evils also to which it is liable were early experienced here,¹ and doubtless contributed not a little to the

¹ See my *Alterthümer*, p. 356.

rapid strides of disunion and the decay of national strength ; so that we can only wonder to find the people themselves remaining throughout all these centuries so little corrupted. And this democratic tendency especially facilitated the commencing insulation of the greater and lesser members of the community.

But it was now impossible that this insulation should assume the form of exactly twelve independent and rival little kingdoms, according to the number of the tribes. Even at the time of the first settlement the tribes stood to each other upon a very unequal footing : an inequality which could not but be increased by their subsequent insulation. Thus, by natural gravitation, new connections and groups grew out of the dislocation, as some weaker tribe attached itself through traditional kinship or recent neighbourhood to a stronger, or several tribes of equal strength were driven by their position to form a closer union against a foe ; or as the territorial conditions of the conquered country themselves favoured the growth of some great and thriving groups, or forcibly severed some one tribe from its connection with the rest. And thus we see, as soon as these new conditions have taken fixed shape, and the clear light of history again falls on them, three or four groups of tribes, like newly-formed islands emerging high and dry from the ocean. From this time forth all tend to separation from their former condition, and to union with these groups in a compactness unknown before. Although one or another member of the original union sways irresolutely for a time, as if willing to assert a separate individuality, yet only those groups which were from the first of tougher consistency remain fixed centres amid the general dissolution. And as they emerge out of the depths of historical as well as local creation, they establish themselves during this long period of tribal disorganisation so indestructibly as virtually to determine the whole later history of the people settled in Canaan. Though yielding at times to some comprehensive uniting movement, yet they unfailingly emerge again, more or less altered ; and finally cease to be only when the whole sinks in ruin. It is worth while to enter into greater detail in describing this.

1. In the south of the land on the west of the Jordan were established Judah and Simeon, the strongest and toughest of all these groups. This result was due not less to the ancient characteristics of the tribe of Judah, than to the special qualities of the soil itself. For beyond every other portion of the country, this district, less luxuriant yet not wholly unproductive, with its rough mountain-ridges, numerous caves, passes,

and wide desert tracts, was calculated to make its inhabitants the strongest, bravest, and toughest people in Canaan. The difficulties of the soil were well matched by the character of a tribe, which at the time of its settlement was the most simple and warlike of all the great tribes; and which, notwithstanding its military superiority, abstained from all ambitious excesses, and preferred to hold back and concentrate its powers in dignified reserve. Of its separate fortunes during this period we indeed know little; but in that age of internal disorganisation, it is in itself a favourable sign when a great tribe is but seldom mentioned in connection with the troubles or struggles of the time. When we behold it finally emerge in full unbroken strength, and achieve the most glorious results, we can only conclude that through wise moderation and self-restraint it had previously abstained from taking part in internal dissensions, and thus, though for a time somewhat alienated from the other tribes, preserved its internal strength unbroken. What we find in detail on the subject is as follows.

Amongst those of the Judges whose memory has been handed down to us, there is but one whom we can point out with certainty as belonging to Judah. For whether Ibzan, who sprang from Bethlehem and was there buried,¹ was from Judah, the connection in which he appears renders more than doubtful, as will be further shown presently. The Bethlehem, which is not defined by any epithet, may be that in the tribe Zebulun;² and Josephus³ had plainly no other reason for making him a Judean, but the erroneous assumption that the name Bethlehem must refer to Judah. We should hesitate still more as to attributing to the community of Judah Shamgar son of Anath, who is very briefly mentioned.⁴ The only thing related of him by the last author of the Book of Judges, his hand-to-hand combat with the Philistines, would certainly connect him neither with the north nor with the east; but on the one hand the great resemblance to Samson evident in the scanty notice of him, and on the other the mention made of him in Deborah's Song, which shows his character and actions to have been then in fresh remembrance, and to have evidently belonged to the same land where Deborah herself dwelt, whereas Judah lay quite out of her field of view, appear rather to warrant us in assigning him to the tribe of Dan, in the extreme west. There remains then only Othniel; whose memory stretches back (according to p. 57 sq.) into the cycle of traditions respecting the settlement,

¹ According to Judges xii. 8-10.

² Josh. xix. 15.

³ *Ant.* v. 7. 13.

⁴ Judges iii. 31; comp. v. 6.

and who is also described as the first of all the Judges.¹ But the remote period to which he undoubtedly belongs, as well as the unique character of the combat with the king of so distant a country as Mesopotamia, in which he appears as the deliverer of the people, are both so exceptional as to make it impossible to insert Othniel in the series of ordinary Judges, such as they are elsewhere described. It is worth while here to illustrate this point, as far as the state of the authorities permits.

The Mesopotamian king Chushan-rishathaim² is in fact not further known to us from any other ancient authority; and Josephus' expansion of the simple words in Judges iii. 8-10 has by no means the air of being derived from any more copious early account. In calling him an Assyrian king, Josephus is merely employing the phraseology usual in his time (i. p. 391). It would also be hazardous to draw any deductions from the name of Chushan-rishathaim,³ which may appear strange to us. But the passage of Genesis (ch. xiv.), discussed before (i. p. 301 sqq.), shows that the countries on the Euphrates and Tigris early constituted great kingdoms, and took an interest in the contest going on among the mixed populations of Canaan. It is moreover very conceivable under the circumstances, that such a Mesopotamian king might venture an inroad upon Canaan, just when the settlement of the invading Israelites could scarcely have gained a secure footing, and even bring it for a short time—eight years according to the narrative—into subjection to himself. Every great neighbouring kingdom would try to profit by the confusion which Israel's seizure of Canaan necessarily produced, and if the Aramean nations on the nearer side of the Euphrates were (according to p. 74) too weak to withstand the first powerful advance of Israel, this would be clearly an additional motive to those beyond to take part in the fray. This war then is but one out of

¹ Judges iii. 8-11.

² From which was also formed by Greek readers the shorter name *Xovσάθης* (Josephus *Ant.* v. 3. 3) or *Xovσάχης* (Clem. Alex. *Stromata* i. 21); which might serve as a sign that more was formerly known of this conqueror, if the name had not been already abbreviated by the LXX. into *Xovσάθης*. The name *Achurardist* in the *Chron. Arm.* of Eusebius i. p. 99. ed. Ven. would suit the chronology, if it were to be relied on. The account in Georgius Syncellus *Chronogr.* i. p. 158, that Paphos in Cyprus was founded by men who fled before Othniel, is an unconnected fragment. But the war of the Chaldeans with the Phenicians, noticed by

Eusebius in the *Can. Chronolog.* ii. p. 103 Auch. would also go back to about the same time. If at some future time the deciphered cuneiform inscriptions of Mesopotamia can be compared with the Greek accounts of Ctesias and others, perhaps this Aramean monarch may also become better known.

³ It seems as if *רִשְׁעָתַיִם* might signify in Hebrew, 'Double crime;' but this is probably a mere illusion. There is a conjecture of Bunsen's, not very well founded, in relation to this period, on which see *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* xi. p. 192 sq.; on another absurd conjecture see *Theolog. Studien u. Krit.* 1863, p. 729.

the long list of Aramean enterprises in the north-east, in which Israel must have been involved (according to p. 74) immediately after Joshua's death, and of which only a few fading memories now remain. But it seems as if the only people which at the time of Israel's first great display of strength dared to make head against it, soon met with so severe a repulse, that it never for centuries again crossed the Euphrates; for the next following Judges have quite different enemies to cope with. Now if the Othniel who (according to p. 57 sq.) settled far in the south of Judah, achieved his lasting fame as conqueror of these foes from the far north-east, and deliverer of Israel from their attacks, this affords us a fresh sign of the tribe's warlike greatness and activity, now embracing all Israel even in the north. This confirms the estimate of Judah which we formed (p. 55 sq.) from the events of the very earliest period of the settlement.

But afterwards, when all Israel's possessions again hung doubtful in the balance, and the suppressed strength of the Canaanite and other conquered nations or their allies, rushed back on the tribes in an overwhelming torrent, Judah almost disappears from the narrative. It must strike every reader, how little mention is made of Judah by the Book of Origins, from Othniel to the very last of the Judges. At the first glance, one might be disposed to account for this by supposing that the authors of the documents employed by the writer of iii. 12-xvi, being members of other tribes, took no interest in the fortunes of Judah. But when we see that the Judges therein spoken of, and their wars, extend over all the other tribes, in the centre, the north, and the east, we feel how little this reason alone can suffice for an explanation. The Song of Deborah gives further evidence, quite independent of the above, and even more conclusive. This Song, which purposely mentions either with praise or blame the position of all the tribes, as far as they had any bearing on the great event of the period, and forgets neither Benjamin nor Dan, the two nearest, though weaker, neighbours of Judah, is absolutely silent on Judah and Simeon. Now how was this possible? Were these tribes insignificant or remote? Were they not yet settled in their proper seats, and therefore as yet non-existent in Israel? The one hypothesis is surely as improbable as the other. The true reason of this remarkable circumstance must therefore be, that in the time of Deborah Judah and Simeon had long lived in strict isolation from the other tribes, and formed a strong independent community which presented a firm front to their

enemies; or, in other words, that as after Solomon's time (though from different causes), they were opposed to the other tribes, dividing Israel as it were in half with a great partition-wall.¹ If Judah thus maintained itself in seclusion, unity, and internal strength during the period of increasing disorganisation and weakness, we can understand its not requiring Judges—those exceptional dictators—whom the disorderly state of other tribes had rendered necessary.

What a rare treasure of primitive purity in domestic life had been preserved among those southern mountains, is shown by the Book of Ruth, whose historical truth in the delineation of primitive life admits of no question (i. p. 154 sq.). What a reserve of strength for war and supremacy was developed in Judah is seen as soon as ever the tribe is by David once more drawn into common action with the rest of the nation. Toward the end of this period, in the days of Jephthah and Samson, Judah indeed suffered temporarily from the invasion of the Ammonites, and for a longer period from forced dependence on the Philistines, who broke in upon Israel in the first flush of their new strength; yet we see from the manner in which this connection is spoken of at the time,² that excepting the inevitable tribute, Judah was only pledged to deliver up the enemies of the Philistines; cultivating its lands otherwise undisturbed for its own benefit. And by no other tribe was this long-enduring tyranny afterwards so wholly broken, and rendered for ever harmless, as by Judah; whose boyish hero David plays a very different game with them than does the giant champion of Dan.

2. Though the southern group had so far detached itself from the national bond, we might have expected that Ephraim in the central part would have adhered to it all the more firmly, with not only the smaller adjacent tribes, but also all those of the north; so that the centre of gravity would have fallen there, and this great group at least would not have been further broken up. Of the four tribes crowded together in the north, there was not one of sufficient weight to form a centre; and of their ever forming a league among themselves we hear nothing. Deborah's song certainly shows that in great crises these four tribes generally held by each other. If out of the eight tribes of this largest group, two, Dan and Asher, then

¹ In like manner, even in Saul's time, the host of Judah is named apart from that of the rest of Israel, 1 Sam. xi. 8, xv. 4.

² Judges xv. 8-20 and x. 9 are the only passages from iii. 12 to xvi. where Judah is mentioned.

remained inactive, because, in Deborah's biting words, 'they dwell by the sea-shore, and by the harbours of the sea, because they seek protection in ships,' this can prove only partial and temporary exceptions; for these maritime tribes, though strongly attracted by the commercial life of their neighbours the Phenicians, never, like them, attempted to found independent states, nor separated themselves entirely from their brethren.¹ And when after Solomon's death a firmly united kingdom arose out of Ephraim in opposition to Judah, we see the northern tribes (as far as our information goes) willingly follow Ephraim's banner for centuries.

Yet the bond of union between these tribes grew gradually looser during the period of the Judges, as some of the traditions clearly prove. The fault lay partly at least in the pride of the tribe of Ephraim, which persistently regarded itself as the hereditary leader, and asserted its high pretensions without the proper forbearance and moderation.² With its own brother-tribe Manasseh it came to a rupture; and this might perhaps be one of the very causes which so early drove the half-tribe of Manasseh across the Jordan (p. 72 sq. 79). When Gideon of Manasseh stirs up the popular resistance to Midian, he appeals only to the northern tribes and Manasseh, and with them alone gains his great victory; but he then has to appease with smooth words the arrogant reproaches of Ephraim, which after the victory complains of not having been called to take part in the struggle.³ Peace was then preserved by Gideon's ready wit, sharp only against his enemies, to his brother-tribe conciliatory though reproachful. But in the general degeneracy of the period, the tares of internal discord soon sprang up again into a great stem. Later, when Jephthah, near akin to the tribe of Manasseh, but on the further side of the Jordan, had chastised the Ammonites, not only beyond the river, but on this side also, whither they had recently crossed in their marauding warfare,⁴ the bands of Ephraim, which he had before vainly implored for assistance, cross the Jordan in mere arro-

¹ Of Dan this is self-evident; but Asher also fights under Gideon directly after, by the side of the other northern tribes, Judges vi. 35.

² Of Joshua's posterity we now know nothing; he himself appears, according to p. 7, to be grandson of Elishama, who was in the tenth generation from Joseph, and who, according to Num. i. 10, ii. 18, was at the time of the Exodus the eldest of the tribe of Ephraim, and therefore belonged to one of the noblest families; but

if he thus was an hereditary prince of the tribe, the obscurity of his posterity in the subsequent history is the more remarkable.

³ Judges vi. 35-viii. 8.

⁴ The narrative in Judges xii. 1-4, must be carefully compared with the words in x. 9: whence it follows that the present narrator might, strictly speaking, have introduced before xi. 34-40 what he says only incidentally and as an afterthought in xii. 1—namely that Jephthah also crossed the Jordan to subdue Ammon.

gance and lust of plunder, when the victory is won, to take vengeance in his own country and his own home on the hero who had dared to conquer without them. Their scornful words, intended to gloss over their conduct, only reveal the iniquity of their motive :—

Runaways of Ephraim are ye!
Gilead belongs to Ephraim, belongs to Manasseh!

a taunt which was soon paid back to them in bitter gall. But these derisive words in the mouth of the people, are to us a proof of the view stated above, that the 'half Manasseh' beyond the Jordan was composed of persons who had escaped out of the country on the nearer side, and gradually (as conjectured p. 72) covered more and more ground on the further. For unless such an impression had sunk deep into the mind of the people, the Manasseh beyond Jordan, contemptuously called 'Gilead,' could not, even in a satire, have been described as escaped out of the community¹ of the double tribe Ephraim and Manasseh, or a runaway from Ephraim; still less could Ephraim have thus persistently brought forward its arrogant claims to Manasseh beyond the Jordan, as fugitives of its own. And if the tribe, whose original and strictly Hebrew name was undoubtedly Manasseh, was early split into two halves, which had no longer any close connecting tie, we see how the other name Machir (i. 371, 382 sq.) might arise as a synonym, and be employed to designate specially the tribe remaining on this side the river.

If we consider further that this second group, which, from its wide extent and great population, as well as from its possession of the sacred centre of the land, might have become the most powerful of all, was still without a secure northern frontier (Lebanon not being yet fully conquered and occupied), while Judah was well guarded by its deserts and mountains in the south, and by the Dead Sea on the east; then it becomes evident what elements of disorganisation and weakness the chief group contained, and how surely the southern group, with all its disadvantages, must eventually obtain the supremacy.

¹ בְּתוֹךְ xii. 4; comp. Ps. lxxviii. 26 [25] 'in the midst,' therefore still belonging to it; there is no independent Gilead. That פְּלִיט is to be understood as above indicated, follows from such passages as 1 Sam. xxv. 10 and 1 Chron. iv. 48. In Judith vi. 2 (comp. ver. 5), v. 5, xiv. 5, Ephraim is placed on a level with Ammon; but no doubt chiefly because these later writers held Samaria to be quite

heathen.

² This name, as used by Deborah, Judges v. 14, signifies those on this side of the Jordan. David also in Ps. lx. 9 [7] places Gilead and Manasseh together. The Book of Origins, on the other hand (Josh. xiii. 31, xvii. and elsewhere), having regard to the original condition, retains the name Manasseh, as does the Book of Covenants in Num. xxxii. 39, 40.

3. The two tribes and a half in the country beyond the Jordan are further separated from the centre both by their scattered and remote position and by the watery barrier. Their history only carries out slowly, in the course of centuries, what was to be expected under the circumstances from the beginning. In the great struggle portrayed in Deborah's song not one of these tribes took part; whether from indolent indifference, or because they considered other matters more important, or thinking that they lived too far off, as Deborah in cutting words reproaches them. No one has penetrated so thoroughly, or at least described so clearly, the dangerous situation of these tribes, as the author of the Book of Origins, with his great legislative genius. With what hesitation he makes Moses assent to the settlement beyond the Jordan; how earnestly both Moses and Joshua warn those tribes that they forget not their brethren on the western side, their welfare, their defence, and the sanctuary in their midst! With what warmth he relates how those tribes sent their own warriors also over the Jordan, as they had promised, to bear with their brethren the brunt of war on the western side; and how those warriors, not released till the conquest was thoroughly achieved, were then falsely accused of having built for themselves a great altar beyond the Jordan, and thus destroyed the unity of the kingdom, and how they protested most solemnly that they had no such intention, and that the altar was meant only as a memorial to posterity of the great conquest in which all had borne a part.¹ These are passages of unusual brilliancy in the Book of Origins; but the author would scarcely have brought this so prominently forward, unless in his own time long experience had shown that these tribes often sought to withdraw themselves entirely from the unity of the kingdom and of the Sanctuary; and unless he had judged it necessary on that account to explain the higher law for the benefit of his own age. As for the monument beyond the Jordan, to which so much importance is here attached, there can be no doubt that at the time of the Book of Origins it was an historical altar, on which sacrifices might be offered, but which in such days of law and order as that book makes its ideal, might possibly serve only as a national monument.

Had these tribes possessed any proper centre round which

¹ Num. xxxii. 1-33, Josh. xxii. (comp. . and a half tribes are said to have remained p. 75); also Josh. i. 12-18, where behind while the rest passed over the however the Deuteronomist interpolates Jordan, see *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1863, p. considerably. Respecting the spot named 1636 sq. in Anton. Mart. *Itiner.* x., where the two

to gather and concentrate their strength, they would probably soon have shaken themselves entirely free from the western land and its Sanctuary. But none such was found for them; and as they were thus precluded from making themselves quite independent of the far stronger West, they remained in some measure united with the central and northern tribes, from whom they were parted only by the Jordan; less so with Judah, which was separated from them by the Dead Sea. The connection in prosperous times was no doubt very much what is indicated in Josh. xxii;¹ namely, that the powerful chiefs of the western country never abandoned their claim to a close union of the eastern tribes with their own, and probably asserted it by force if necessary; while the latter would in general willingly cling to their powerful protectors, so long as these really protected them.

But in the meantime the relation between the more northern tribes beyond the Jordan and Reuben further southwards had been greatly altered in the course of time, and the tendency of this group to disintegration manifested in a new form. Gad, the keeper of the ancient north-east frontier, appears always in the oldest traditions as a tribe often attacked, but brave and full of resources for defence; and the members of Manasseh, sometimes derided as 'Ephraim's runaways,' which had spread themselves still further north, were probably among the best of the Hebrews.² We see that both Gad and Manasseh, a good honest race, attached themselves more and more closely to the tribes on the western side, to whom, when entirely overrun by enemies, they sometimes afforded a last refuge. There Saul's son made his royal residence, and there David, flying from Absalom, and betrayed by the whole western country, found protection and help.³ Quite different was Reuben, in the south, beyond the Dead Sea. The history of this tribe is as unique as it is obscure, although scattered notices on the subject are not entirely wanting. It is however clear that this tribe, which in early times, long before Moses, was the most powerful of all, and which maintained its full independence even during the period of the settlement, steadily lost ground in the most singular manner; almost as in Switzerland the original cantons are now the weakest of all. Deborah represents it as still a tribe of recognised importance, but very indifferent to its brother-tribes, sunk in rural repose and comfort, deliberating much, but, when there was something important to be done, doing nothing.⁴

¹ Verses 12 and 33 deserve especial attention. Judges xi. 1-xii. 7.

² 2 Sam. ii. 8 sqq., xvii. 24-xix.

³ Gen. xlix. 19 (comp. Deut. xxxiii. 20),

⁴ Judges v. 15 sqq.

After Deborah's time, the name of Reuben is never mentioned in any national affairs; the Narrators know nothing of him; scarcely an individual of this tribe is mentioned, while famous men of Gad are never wanting. Descending to the age after Solomon, we hear a poet pray for him thus:¹

Let Reuben live and not die,
Let not his people be too few!—

a groan very much justified, when we see that all the cities which according to early authorities were the portion of this tribe (see p. 69 sq.), and were certainly possessed by it in the first centuries after Moses, appear in later writings as possessions of the Moabites;² as if that people, crossing the Arnon to the north, had recovered from Reuben the domains which had been theirs before the time of Moses (i. p. 627 sq.). Now the Chronicle³ relates very credibly how this tribe in Saul's time assailed and subdued some Arabian tribes,⁴ and then spread itself out with its numerous herds to the east even of Gilead; i.e. to the east of all Israel's possessions beyond the Jordan, into the desert as far as the Euphrates; and further, that a great prince of the tribe had been carried off into Assyrian captivity. This wide extension eastwards may have brought about all the sooner the loss of the cities nearer the Jordan; and soon after Solomon's time they were probably quite lost.⁵ And if the tribe was driven further and further into the desert, and there degenerated and melted away, it becomes intelligible how Reuben was estranged from true Hebrew history, and why it was at last regarded on the west of the Jordan as a dying tribe. The similar fate of its kindred tribe, Simeon, has been already described at pp. 59 sqq.

It accords well with these relations of the tribes beyond Jordan, that the old tribal constitutions fall to decay among them first of all; giving place to smaller communities, each of which sought to be independent. This remarkable circumstance will be more fully elucidated presently.

If all the stages and changes of this gradual disorganisation are not at the present day to be distinctly traced, and we must

¹ Deut. xxxiii. 6.

² Is. xv, xvi, Jer. xlviii.

³ 1 Chron. v. 6-10.

⁴ Which the Chronicler, adopting a later name, calls Hagarites; see i. p. 315.

⁵ That these cities were already lost at the time when Ammon successfully rebelled, Judges x-xii, 1 Sam. xi, cannot be granted; for though in the list of

Solomon's twelve governors in 1 Kings iv. 7-19 Reuben's territory is not distinctly specified, we see from the description (short as it is) of Joab's journey to number the whole people in 2 Sam. xxiv. 5 (comp. Josh. xiii. 16), and from 1 Chron. xix. 7, that in David's time these districts belonged wholly to Israel.

content ourselves with acknowledging it to have been an overpowering tendency of the age, yet at least the weighty results, both external and internal, which necessarily issued from it, are unmistakably manifest.

II. EXTERNAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE DISINTEGRATION : NEW HEATHEN KINGDOMS.

I. THE CANAANITES.

Weakness in relation to other nations, whether strange or already subjugated, was one certain external result; a weakness imperceptible in the beginning, increasingly serious in its progress. Although its advance might be checked by extraordinary exertions for some few moments, when the sacred fire of the days of Moses and Joshua blazed up again freely out of the vapours that stifled it, yet in the end this weakness spread still further and gradually destroyed the old national strength and vital union. In accordance with the respective positions of these peoples, as noticed in detail in i. p. 224 sqq., the increasing weakness of Israel produced its first effect on the Canaanites, who, recovering from their first terror, began to strengthen themselves afresh with their superior military art and experience against their astonishing invaders, and sought to regain the country which they had lost, or at least to defend with better success the remnant of their possessions. And even the Aborigines, wherever they remained in any numbers, endeavoured in like manner to rally, either alone, or in combination or alliance with the Canaanites.

The peculiar dismemberment of the Canaanites themselves also continued throughout the whole of this period; in consequence of which they could only rarely and with difficulty resolve upon any great military alliances or joint enterprises. The war of the mighty king of Bezek, from the northern part of the centre of the land in the earliest period (p. 56), and about a century and a half later the evidently far more successful war of Jabin, king of the great city of Hazor,¹ situated, according to p. 25, in the north-western corner, whose general Sisera is said to have sorely oppressed Israel for twenty years²—these two great Canaanite oppressions are the only ones of which any memory has been preserved. Although the later of the two was

¹ This Jabin (comp. p. 25) bears very singularly in Hamza's *Arab. Annals*, p. xc. 18, the epithet *نَافِش* but this appears only to have arisen in mistake from *يا نَافِش* 'Iaβls (for 'Iaβls) in Josephi' *Hy-*

pomnest. xi. Eusebius also in his *Onom.* s. v. 'Ασιρῶθ forms the nominative 'Iaβls. Throughout that edition of Hamza the proper names are singularly disfigured.

² Judges iv. v.

far more dangerous and difficult for Israel to overcome than the earlier (in which we see another sign of Israel's increasing decadence), it is plain from the song of Deborah that they by no means extended to Judah; which seems to have been much less affected by the returning power of the Canaanites. But so much the more tenaciously did the Canaanites maintain their footing at certain favourable points; so that Israel, despairing at last of expelling them, was obliged to come to terms of some sort or other. It is really surprising to see how that ingenious race, after its supremacy over the whole land was irrecoverably lost, maintained its hold, not only on the outermost skirts of its former possessions, but here and there in the very heart of the country, as on little islands rising out of a stormy sea, whence it inspired even its conquerors with respect; recalling the fate of Italy after its subjugation by Germans, where the old inhabitants here and there in favourable spots held closely together, and soon, with their array of flourishing towns, raised their head bravely against the surrounding 'Barbarians.'

In the remains of the oldest historical work (Judges i.) we still possess a precious record, which shows us the form which these complicated relations had assumed in the time of the author, in the latter half of the period of the Judges, when the changes were quite completed. According to this, there were Canaanites and Aborigines, more or less, in all tribes on the west of the Jordan, who kept their footing chiefly in the open valleys, where the easy use of their cavalry and chariots of war gave them a great advantage.¹ The entire omission of the tribe Issachar (north of Manasseh) is here certainly very striking; but that it was not forgotten in the original work is certainly probable, because otherwise it would be the only western tribe not mentioned; and is confirmed by the Blessing of Jacob,—belonging to the same period and no doubt even to the same work,—wherein this particular tribe is bitterly lashed for its indolent love of inglorious repose in the too fertile land, and its consequent subservience to the Canaanites:²

Issachar is a large-boned ass,
Stretched out between the water-troughs;
And he saw that rest was good,
And the land that it was pleasant;
And bowed his shoulder to bear,
And was subjected to a servant's tribute! —

words which are taken in part from Deborah's satire on Reuben.³

¹ Judges i. 19, 34, iv. 3-16; see similar statements respecting the Philistines and others in 1 Sam. xiii. 6, 2 Sam. i. 6, viii. 4, x. 18; see also i. p. 553 sq., ii. p. 13, 16.

² Gen. xlix. 14 sq.

³ Judges v. 16.

The poet might probably have spoken very similarly of others of the northern tribes; but the easy interpretation of the name Issachar (as *he is hire or hired servant*) was sufficient temptation to cast upon that particular tribe the well-merited taunt.

Quite different is the method of the Book of Origins with respect to these recovered Canaanite cities. Its object being to bring into prominence the legal element, even in describing the country, it defines distinctly the several lots, as they should according to law be apportioned to each tribe, and takes no notice of those cities within the allotments which might be still inhabited by Canaanites. That its descriptions of the lots were founded on very ancient authorities, admits of no question. A remarkable illustration of this is found in the fact that it describes Gazer as still a Levitical city (p. 82), which it can have been only in the period immediately after Joshua; since after his death it was reconquered by the Canaanites (as will presently be shown), and formed till the time of Solomon a separate kingdom. But while keeping old historic data in view in describing the lots, this work yet avoids including in them the Phœnician and the Philistine coasts, which the oldest historic work had treated as falling originally within the dominion of Israel. Evidently, at the time when the later work was composed, these maritime districts had been separated from Israel so long as to bar any historical claims to them.

Endeavouring from these and other very faint and scattered traces to gain some notion of these conditions in detail, we obtain a picture something like this:—

1) Judah and Ephraim, generally speaking, kept their territories the purest. Yet the latter was unable at a later time to expel the Canaanites from Gazer,¹ whose former king Horam had been conquered by Joshua;² and the former was obliged to endure their presence in considerable numbers in its valleys.³ In these brief declarations of the oldest work, supplemented by what information we can elsewhere gather, we seem to discover a latent tradition of a peculiar kingdom, which must have long maintained its existence in a surprising manner, in the south-west, between Israel and the Philistines. The city of

¹ The Massorah favours the pronunciation Gezer; but the Apocrypha and Greek writings have Γάζα, in all probability nearer the original, in 1 Macc. iv. 15, vii. 45; or Γάζα; or even Γάζα in *Rel. Pal.* p. 779.

² According to Josh. x. 33, xii. 12; the LXX. read Ἐλζα; only a few MSS. have an *z*.

³ Both according to Judges i. 19, 29; in the corresponding passage, Josh. xvi. 10, the words ויהי למם עבר appear a later addition, because they are wanting in Judges i. 29; and the phrase, probably borrowed from Gen. xlix. 15, reproduced only in 1 Kings ix. 21, is elsewhere in the Book of Covenants more simply לם היה.

Gazer is almost as conspicuous in the south-west as the five Philistine cities; it must not however be confounded with a Gazer lying further south, which, being important from its situation and its fortification, is frequently mentioned in the wars of the Maccabees. Since its position would bring it within the territory of Ephraim, and all other indications are favourable, we can identify it with a little place Jesúr, which lies not very far inland from the port of Jáfâ (Joppa).¹ Indeed this situation first gives us a notion of its ancient importance, and leads us to another significant circumstance which is here in point. Why is this ancient Japhó, at all times the only seaport on the coast exactly west of Jerusalem, scarcely once mentioned in the whole early history of Israel,² though it was undoubtedly of great antiquity, and at all times equally important to central Canaan? The most probable answer is, that it was then regarded by Israel as a mere dependant of Gazer; partly from their near neighbourhood, partly because it belonged to the same Canaanite kingdom, wherefore the Greeks called it Phenician.³ If the kingdom of Gazer was so intimately connected with this maritime city, that seawards it was even known by the latter's name, it must have had great importance for seafaring nations in early times; and we now begin to understand many a tradition of those distant ages, which otherwise would seem singular.⁴ It must also be remarked that this kingdom, rising afresh out of the ruins of the ancient Canaanite power in the south, remained permanently sundered from the Sidonians and other Phenicians properly so called in the north, by the

¹ It is certainly somewhat difficult to ascertain the situation of the ancient Gazer from passages such as 2 Sam. v. 25 (1 Chron. xiv. 16); but since, according to i. p. 632; ii. p. 82, and the entirely independent narrative in Judges i. 29, and also Josh. xvi. 3, it lay on the south-western frontier of Ephraim, it may in all probability be identified with the present Jesúr, to the east of Jáfâ (Joppa). Even the *Onomast.* of the Fathers does not appear materially opposed to this notion. But the Gazer so often mentioned in the Books of Maccabees is, from 1 Macc. xiv. 34, clearly the present Jesúr south-east of Ashdod: as if the Philistines had formerly given the name Gazer to every fortified suburb. Robinson is mistaken in connecting the first Jesúr with the *Ἰερὺς* of the Fathers; since this is much more probably *יֶרֶמְיָהוּ*, and lay to the east of Askelon, and consequently too far to the south.

² Only in Josh. xix. 46, in defining a boundary; and even here in such a manner as shows plainly that it did not belong to Israel. Herewith agrees the newly discovered passage in the *Theophany* of Eusebius ii. 26 (edited by Lee in Syriac). Eusebius in this remarkable passage doubtless had before him some Greek work in which the ancient wars of Israel with the Canaanites were described, and which unfortunately has not been preserved.

³ Steph. Byz. s. v. *Ἰερὺς*; Pliny's *Nat. Hist.* v. 14. Even in Caesar's time, it was not regarded as properly belonging to Jerusalem and Judah, Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10. 6.

⁴ See i. p. 513; and we now first understand how the Egyptian king (coming by sea by way of Joppa) could destroy this city and make it over to Solomon. Also in Strabo xvi. 2. 29 we can only understand by the *district* Gadaris the domain of this city, which had again become important.

possessions of Israel, especially of the tribe of Ephraim, which extended to the sea. It was consequently left to shape its own course, and it is marvellous how for centuries, even to the beginning of Solomon's reign, it succeeded in maintaining itself more or less independent between Israel and the Philistines. It certainly endeavoured from the very beginning to strengthen itself by prudent alliance with the Aborigines, who were most numerous and powerful in the south. In so far it was not purely Canaanite, and certain narrators call it by preference the kingdom of the Amorites (i. p. 234 sq.).¹ No doubt the tribe of Dan, the most exposed, was very early harassed by this kingdom, as well as by the Philistines, and often probably by both together (p. 61 sq.), and was ultimately obliged to yield up cities, which could scarcely, even in prosperous times, and with the help of the powerful Ephraim, be regarded as vassals;² but to the east of the Philistine frontier and west of the mountains of Judah, the dominions of Gazer stretched far to the south and east.³ This remarkable little kingdom appears however to be often called Geshur, or the kingdom of the Geshurites.⁴ But this name is probably only dialectically different from Gazer; and it coincides curiously with that of another little kingdom, situated (according to p. 74) on the opposite north-eastern frontier of Israel, which also rises into view in these times, and appears also to be a restored remnant of the ancient power of the Aborigines.

But there were also many Aborigines not closely connected with this kingdom, who maintained a footing towards the south and south-east, far into the peninsula of Sinai. These were commonly called Amalekites, like those beyond the Jordan. Rallying easily from every blow, these remained for centuries on the watch for every favourable opportunity of regaining the beautiful land of their ancient possession.

2) In Benjamin's territory, the city which was to become after David the great centre of the whole nation, Jebus or Jerusalem, soon emancipated itself from its first subjugation (described p. 56), and being strongly defended by its mountainous situation and no doubt also by superior skill, remained

¹ 1 Sam. vii. 14 (see Judges i. 34-36).

² Harheres Ajalon (p. 23) and Shalbin are named in Judges i. 35.

³ According to Judges i. 36, 1 Sam. xxvii. 8.

⁴ In Josh. xiii. 2 this kingdom only can be meant by the Geshurites, the only people spoken of as important besides the Philistines. If indeed, in 1 Sam. xxvii. 8, the

Geshurites and Gazerites were named together, we must regard the two as distinct; but the latter are wanting in the LXX., and it is only in a few MSS. (according to Holmes) that both are found; and even if both names originally stood here, they might only have been strung together according to some proverbial form of speech.

afterwards unconquered throughout this entire period and down to the time of the monarchy.¹ Its territory may not have been very extensive; but its situation in the middle of the country, and not far from the chief sanctuaries of Israel, made it a dangerous position.

3) Northward of Ephraim's frontier, began the motley commixture of Hebrew and Canaanite populations, which increased more and more towards the north and north-west. Manasseh was compelled to tolerate in its midst some six or seven tolerably large Canaanite cities with considerable territories.² Chief among these was Beth-shean (now Baisan), afterwards called Scythopolis, lying on a well-watered oasis towards the Jordan, and on the great commercial highway between Egypt and Damascus—even down to the latest times one of the richest and most important towns. To the west of Beth-shean there were also Taanach and Megiddo, more in the centre of the country; and Dôr (now Tantûr) on the sea. By this line of towns chiefly in the great plain, Northern Canaan was for Israel almost cut off from the central country. Further north were two cities which the tribe of Zebulun was unable to hold.³ Asher and Naphtali lastly dwelt literally 'in the midst of the Canaanites,'⁴ whereas of other tribes it is merely said that Canaanites dwelt among them. In particular, the important seaport of Accho (Acre) as well as Achzib (Ekdippa) to the north of it, and probably the whole seacoast from thence to Tyre, remained unconquered.⁵ On the north-east, Hazor especially (mentioned p. 25, 98) long kept free, and even became at times the seat of a widely ruling Canaanite house. Indeed on the extreme north Israel was so mingled with the powerful and influential Phenicians, that at an early period this northern frontier was called the Heathen Frontier,⁶ or simply the Frontier (Galilee).⁷ But this name did not become the general designation of the entire

¹ Judges i. 21; and somewhat altered by the Last Narrator, Josh. xv. 63; compared with the perfectly independent narrative in Judges xix. 11–15, 2 Sam. v. 5–9.

² Judges i. 27 sq. The mention of the war with Scythopolis and the surrounding cities' in the passage already mentioned of the *Theophany* of Eusebius ii. 66, belongs certainly to these times. On the locality of Scythopolis, see Consul Schultz in the *Hall. Lit. Zeitung* 1845, p. 667. The structure of this leading passage is found more perfect in Josh. xvii. 11–13 (comp. xii. 20–22); except that in ver. 11, the words *בְּיַסְכֵּךְ וּבְאַשֵּׁר* seem to be interpolated from elsewhere. The easiest

solution might be that En-dor, not far from Tabor, belonged properly to Issachar.

³ Judges i. 30, comp. Josh. xix. 15; according to which one of the two names, *קַטְתָּר* or *קַטְתָּ* must be incorrect.

⁴ Judges i. 31–33; comp. 27, 29.

⁵ Perhaps Dora also was even in these early times independent: Josephus *Ag. Ap.* ii. 9, calls it shortly Phenician.

⁶ Is. viii. 23 [ix. 1].

⁷ Josh. xx. 7, xxi. 32, 1 Kings ix. 11, 2 Kings xv. 29; comp. the 'Borders of the Philistines' in Josh. xiii. 2 and Joel iv. 4 [iii. 4], and the 'Borders of the Jordan,' in Josh. xxii. 11.

northern third of the land till the third period of the history of Israel, after the separation of Samaria.

Times certainly occurred when Israel became powerful enough to make many of these cities tributary;¹ but they had meanwhile regained so much of their former independence, that Israel was fain to content itself with having them as vassals. And thus these relations took everywhere a different and a variable form. There were certain cities, which (according to p. 22 sq.) remained from the very beginning under Israel's protectorate, others which gradually gained strength and became not indeed wholly free, but more or less independent.

That the former inhabitants of the land were far from being completely or quickly repressed or annihilated, may be frequently perceived from the names of the places themselves. A powerful conquering nation likes to give its own names even to the localities of a new country, especially when the country has been almost abandoned by its former inhabitants. With what buoyant pleasure Israel also gave new names at first to its newly acquired cities, we saw at i. pp. 613, 629 *note*, and certainly many such new Israelite names have been perpetuated. But on the whole, the great majority of local names evidently remained very much as before; and it is very instructive to follow this out. If the many names of places compounded with *Baal*, do not all necessarily point to a Canaanite god, all those formed with *Dagon*² and *Rimmon*³ certainly do. The frequent Kirjahs, Timnahs, Gaths, Abels, all probably belong to the earliest times; and the Ramahs, Gibeahs, and Mizpehs, to the Israelite invaders.

2. THE EASTERN NATIONS.

After Deborah's decisive victories all great enterprises on the part of these once-conquered internal foes came to a stand-still; and the remnant of the Canaanites, as we have just described, endeavoured only to maintain a footing in small isolated districts. But the dangers which threatened Israel from its numerous eastern neighbours continued, after short intermissions, with increasing violence. Few as are the particulars which we can now distinctly ascertain of any such menacing assaults of eastern nations, because no vivid remembrance seems to have

¹ See Judges i. 28.

² Even where the Philistines never penetrated, Josh. xix. 27, comp. xv. 41. There still exists a Beit-Dejan east of Joppa, by Nablous. That Dagon was originally not an exclusively Philistine deity, is

shown in my treatise *Über die Phönik. Ansichten von der Weltschöpfung*, p. 12 sq.

³ Still later the name of a Syrian deity; but places named after him are still found from northern Syria to the peninsula of Sinai.

been preserved of any but the most violent and lasting of such wars, we can in general perceive that they must have all had a common character in origin, mode, and extent. For of invasions by Aramean nations there is no trace, after the wars which occurred somewhere about the first century of this period (p. 74 sq.). These wars and conquests therefore proceed always from the two nations cognate to Israel, Moab and Ammon, whose territory was greatly narrowed by Israel, or from the nomadic Arabian populations dwelling beyond and partially among them. Thus the chief cause of these contests is probably to be found in the dispersion of Israel over the wide Transjordanic districts, and in the constant friction thence arising. We see disputes, of which the quarrel between Abraham's and Lot's herdsmen might serve as the type; but here in historical times the issue is not always so happy as there. (See i. p. 299 sq.) Now when any one of these small nations beyond the Jordan had successfully risen against one of the Israelite tribes on that side, which from the increasing disintegration of Israel would not always prove difficult, there was a great temptation to cross the Jordan and assail the almost equally disunited tribes on the western side. In so doing these populations would only repeat against Israel what Israel had before successfully dared against the Canaanites; and the rich western land necessarily had always great attractions for any races on the other side.

We see clearly described in the case of Jephthah, how, after vanquishing the Ammonites beyond the Jordan, he crosses the river to exterminate them on the nearer side also, and succeeds without any help from the western tribes.¹ And just as Israel had formerly crossed the Jordan at Gilgal, and long held its camp there while occupied with the conquest of the western land, so Eglon, king of Moab, set up his royal seat almost at the very same spot, till he fell by Ehud's hand.²

At the first glance it is certainly striking, that Moab, towards whom the conduct of Israel under Moses had been friendly (i. p. 625 sqq.), now first appears as a dangerous enemy. What immediate motive incited this people to war against Israel we no longer know; but from the fact which has come down to us in the scanty records of those times,³ that Moab conducted the war at the head of a great federation of the Ammonites and Amalekites, we may conclude that the tribes of Israel beyond the Jordan had given occasion to many disputes with their

¹ Judges xi. 32 sq., xii. 1, 3; comp. x. 9.

² Judges iii. 19 sqq.

³ Judges iii. 13, see ver. 14 on the duration of the war.

it was alternately friendly and hostile (i. p. 604, 636 sq.). Of its present cause for commencing a war of extermination, we have no particulars. Midian was no doubt incited to the war by the Canaanites, whom Deborah had with such difficulty conquered, and who must have had many commercial ties with it, and was further encouraged by the universal weakness into which Israel seemed to be lapsing, just when Midian itself again stood at the head of a large confederacy of Arabian tribes.¹ Thus, the people of the desert, when the eastern barrier-lands on the Jordan had fallen before them, pushed on into the western country, and held sway there, as is expressly stated, as far as Gaza in the extreme south-west, overflowing all the plains.² It is also distinctly recorded, that their rule was far more terrible than that of Moab and such-like stationary peoples. Israel fled before them, either to the strong mountain-summits, which nomads could hardly besiege with success, or into caves, where there were such; and where there were not, artificial caves were formed³ in the mountains as a refuge. For like all true roving races, the Midianites, when victorious, plundered and utterly wasted every district they entered, killing or dragging with them every living thing. If their hordes at times melted away, or retired in great numbers with their booty in the autumn, and the inhabitants ventured forth to sow their grain in the spring, fresh swarms swept presently over the land, trampling down the young crops with their camels and herds. Thus vivid was the memory which Israel retained of these its worst enemies. Even in the days of later narrators, the subterranean hiding-places then constructed by Israel in its fear, were still to be seen. But the victory gained at last by Gideon was so decisive that Israel had thenceforward no more to dread in that quarter, and Midian never again made war at the head of such numerous peoples. Another victory, which would hardly have been mentioned at all if it had not been very important,⁴ was gained over Midian by Hadad, king of Edom, on the territory of Moab, which consequently must have been also subdued. This victory seems to belong to the same period, and to be a secondary result of the great victories of Gideon.

Towards the end of this period, another people of the same region emerges into notice—Ammon; which in early times was

¹ Judges vi. 3, vii. 12.

² Judges vi. 1–6.

³ מְהָרֹת Judges vi. 2, properly *Canals*, from *flowing*, may signify artificial excavations or shafts (which are generally mp), just as well as the similar words in

Job xxviii. 3, 10, 11.

⁴ In Gen. xxxvi. 35 it appears as a very memorable act of this king of Edom. As he was the fourth before the last king of Edom, he cannot at all events have lived before Gideon.

weaker than its 'elder brother' Moab, but which, now that Moab had lost the upper hand, was growing gradually to greater independence, and aiming at supremacy. We no longer know the immediate causes by which from this time forth Ammon was impelled to repeated attacks upon the dominions of Israel. The reason which its king, when questioned by Jephthah, brought forward from ancient history—that Israel under Moses had taken land from Ammon and from Moab—was, as usual in such disputes, only a decent pretext, which moreover Jephthah did not allow.¹ It is however clear, that this people's struggles for supremacy were suppressed by Israel with much more difficulty than those of the kindred nation Moab at the beginning of the period. It is true that this people is said to have held the supremacy for only eighteen years²—the same period as was assigned to Moab; but the victory which Jephthah gained over them, beyond as well as on this side of the Jordan, was so far from permanently breaking their power, that under Samuel, according to the express statement of the extant narratives, they again seriously endangered the city of Jabesh in Gilead, and no doubt all Israel's possessions beyond the Jordan: which, but for Saul's unexpected succour, they would have conquered.³ And as this attack upon Jabesh has evidently been particularly remembered only on account of its curious coincidence with the beginning of Saul's reign, how many similar unchronicled incursions and successes may there have been!⁴ As, moreover, the courage of the nomad races increased with the ruin of Moab's supremacy, we see that shortly after Saul's victories over Ammon it became necessary to chastise Amalek.⁵ Under the monarchy, lastly, Edom was drawn into the number of Israel's foes.

¹ Judges xi. 12-28; comp. Josh. xiii. 25, and i. p. 627 sqq. A similar pretext, taken from the early history, is employed by Israel against Amalek, at a time when it certainly deserved chastisement for much nearer reasons, 1 Sam. xv. 2 sq. Yet such pretexts are hardly ever mere invention; of which fact we might here find frequent proof.

² Judges x. 8.

³ 1 Sam. xi, compared with xii. 12.

⁴ Possibly during these wars Chephahammonai (*Ammonites' village*) in Benjamin, mentioned in Josh. xviii. 23, had its origin; with which we may compare the *Edomite Ascent* on the northern

boundary of Judah to the east of Jerusalem, Josh. xv. 7, xviii. 17 (أمة قلات).

الدم was lately found by Consul Schultz in that neighbourhood). In any case these names, just in these places, show that Ammonites and Edomites once crossed the Jordan and remained long here, even though it may have been before Moses' time. Gilgal is a similar case with regard to Israel; p. 16 sq. But all the more easily were such districts afterwards claimed by the Edomites, even down to the first destruction of Jerusalem.

⁵ 1 Sam. xv.

3. NEW PHILISTINE KINGDOMS.

All these assaults from the east, partially destructive as they may have been, are surpassed in violence and duration by an assault in the second half of this period from a hitherto totally unexpected quarter, whose overpowering force made by far the deepest impression upon Israel, and in the end contributed most powerfully to the entire alteration of the old national constitution. It has been already shown (i. p. 242 sqq.) that the Philistines cannot be supposed to have held any strong position on the southern coast before the arrival of Israel in Canaan. Even in Deborah's time the tribe Dan dwelt powerful and quiet by the sea-shore, occupied with navigation.¹ It must certainly have been after this, and not long before Samson's time, that the Philistines acquired new strength by fresh arrivals from Crete and other western regions. Even the migration of a portion of the tribe Dan (mentioned p. 61 sq.) can hardly have been effected before this new Philistine preponderance.² But after they had once settled there with fresh power, the Philistines, brave in war, and inferior to none in the arts and cunning of life, developed a persistency in the endeavour to conquer the whole of Canaan and destroy the Hebrew ascendancy, which in itself would sufficiently show what fresh, untamed energy lived within them, and how essentially they differed from the Canaanites, as well as from Moab and Ammon. If, indeed, the time of this nation's earliest appearance in Canaan in the first freshness of its strength had not coincided with that of Israel's growing weakness and disintegration, the collision between the two nations would have been very different. But now, for more than a century, Israel is unable to protect itself from this new enemy, and is in danger of being quite worn out by the frequent attacks. The Philistines first became powerful in those eighteen years when Ammon held rule in the east;³ but soon afterwards, about Samson's time, another and a forty years' supremacy is ascribed to them;⁴ and then we hear perpetually of their wars under Eli, Samuel, Saul, and David. What a formidable shape this people's warlike character at last assumed in the imagination of the tribes may be appreciated from the one circumstance that the fear of giants, which had in Moses' time scared back

¹ Judges v. 17.

² A special confirmation of this view is afforded by the early Egyptian inscription, according to which Askelon was inhabited by Canaanites as late as the time of king

Rameses; see Brugsch's *Hist. d'Égypte* i. p. 146.

³ According to Judges x. 7 sqq.

⁴ Judges xiii. 1.

the people so disgracefully from Canaan (i. p. 598), now first reappears with regard to the Philistines. The popular legend of the great giant Goliath expresses in fact nothing but this popular dread, strengthened by unhappy experience, which the stripling David was the first to dispel.¹ In a word, by the settlement of this singular people in the south-west, and the coincidence of its dominion with that of Ammon in the north-east, was raised up in Canaan a stone of offence, at which Israel must stumble, to its utter destruction, unless it could shake off the confusions and weaknesses which had imperceptibly been undermining its strength; as under similar circumstances the Greeks were compelled to nerve their strength to encounter the Persians, and the Romans to meet the Gauls.

But, for an intimate knowledge of this people, it is a serious defect that our extant authorities give no clear picture of its history till after Samuel's time. They were then divided into five little kingdoms: Ekron (Hellenised into *Akkaron*), Gath, Ashdod, Askelon, and Gaza. At the head of each was a Prince, called in the native tongue *Seren*, and often spoken of by the corresponding Hebrew word *Sar*, or else *King*; but in all important affairs these five princes always acted in unison, as if no difference could possibly arise between them, and as if they were held together by some higher power, which was probably not so much a common bond of alliance, as the strong national and patriotic feeling which then made all their states strong and united against strangers.

Of Egyptian campaigns we hear nothing in the traditions of these ages. It is nevertheless not impossible that a brief incursion without permanent results may have happened, since all the extant accounts of the two first centuries are very much condensed; but an important war between Egypt and Israel can hardly have occurred.²

III. INTERNAL RESULTS OF THE DISINTEGRATION.

1. THE CONFEDERATE CITIES.

The internal forces, naturally much more complex and difficult to follow than the external, are in this period especially obscure and perplexing, because no full descriptions have come

¹ Just as in Rome tales were told of Gallic giants, Livy vii. 26 and elsewhere.

² The campaigns of Rameses the Great or Sesostris belong moreover to an earlier period; see *Göt. Gel. Anz.* 1852, p. 1159 sq. The detailed accounts of the conquests

of Rameses II. in Palestine (Brugsch's *Hist. d'Egypte* i. p. 140 sqq.) are not yet determined as to chronology at least, since that adopted by Brugsch is only that of Lepsius.

down to us of any but a few luminous points in the night of those dark and retrograde times. So far however as available authorities and reliable traces conduct us, we see precisely the effects which were to be expected from such a steady though imperceptible process of disorganisation. The disorganisation of the nation as a whole, extending slowly but persistently from above downwards, increasing through external weakness and helplessness, which it had itself originally called into being, now leads gradually on to a virtual annihilation of all the human powers that guide the state. The High Priest's authority, we have already seen (p. 84 sq.), hung from the beginning on a very slender thread, depending chiefly on the personal superiority of each holder of the office, and on the influence of the religion which it represented and maintained; but how difficult to maintain such almost purely spiritual dignity by mere inheritance, throughout all changes of time and human vicissitudes! and how easily would this bond of union with the entire people be loosened, if the first pure inspiration of Moses' and Joshua's days should gradually die out amid new conditions and perplexities! Certainly this authority never wholly ceased; its continued influence in the very heart of the kingdom and at the Sanctuary, as far as such influence was possible, is assumed as a recognised fact (and indeed with the highest probability) in the vivid narrative in Judges xx; even if the 'Phinehas, son of Eleazar' (p. 85), there named as the High Priest 'standing before Jahveh,' had nothing distinguished about him but his name.¹ That the popular Assembly, in great or very urgent national concerns, still met at the Sanctuary and not only formed but carried out resolutions, we see plainly from this example; although the intimidation by means of which the Assembly was then brought together and roused to punish an act of domestic cruelty² shows plainly how difficult it had become to bring about any united action of all the tribes. How

¹ Ver. 28: I mean with the intention of showing that the event occurred in the second generation after Moses, and therefore, according to the ancient mode of calculation, during the lifetime of Aaron's grandson.

² The dismemberment of the woman who met her death by this atrocious deed, and the sending the twelve parts to the twelve tribes, Judges xix. 29 sq. Saul's method of accompanying the message to the tribes by pieces of two sacrificial oxen, in 1 Sam. xi. 7, was intended to operate as a religious menace, and is expressly stated not to have failed of its purpose.

In like manner it was formerly the custom in Norway to send out the war-arrow; and in Scotland a fire-brand with both ends dipped in blood was despatched as a war-token: Guizot's *English Revolution* i. p. 139, Macaulay's *History* i. and a not less striking token of the same nature is the bloody sacrifice mentioned in my *Alterthümer*, p. 78. On an existing Hindu practice of this kind, which appears now much softened from the influence of modern habits, see Onomander's *Altes und Neues aus den Ländern des Ostens* i. p. 206 sq.

low the High Priest's authority sank, till it was in the end almost extinct, is shown, not only by the rise of the new office of the Judges, but by the attempt hazarded by Eli towards the end of this period to regain for the pontificate its original splendid position; on both which points we shall speak hereafter.

It would now certainly have been possible for any tribe that retained any degree of independence, firmly to maintain its own separate constitution under Elders of the tribe; indeed the ancient freedom of the nation, still inviolate, demanded no less. This primitive tribal constitution might really spring up with vigour, all the greater on account of the general decay; and where it still retained its vitality, it could not but exercise a salutary power in arresting the insidious progress of national disorganisation. We still know precisely, that at the head of every tribe originally stood a 'Prince,' to whom was committed the management of internal affairs; but among the 'Elders' he could only be regarded as first among equals. Many tribes must still have retained this constitution, based on strict unity.¹ What strong feelings of the honour of the tribe, without regard to the merit of its cause, were occasionally preserved from the Premosaic to this later period and held all the more tenaciously now the tribes were so isolated, is shown in an example occurring in the small tribe of Benjamin. This tribe, impelled merely by such tribe-prejudices, unanimously took up the cause of one of its cities when threatened with national vengeance for its atrocities, and encountered in its behalf a desperate war against all the other tribes.²

But in the growing anarchy of the period it was only natural that most of the tribes should by degrees be affected by the contagion; their ancient self-government dying out as they formed themselves anew into larger groups (p. 87 sqq.). In central and northern Canaan especially, many traces show that about the middle of this period a civic constitution arose, by which the bond of the tribe was still further relaxed. This remarkable phenomenon was not without important results even for later times. If we put ourselves in imagination into the

¹ The Book of Origins even legally prescribes them, introducing them as individually appointed by Moses himself, Num. xxxiv. 16-29, comp. Josh. xxii. 14. The names of these twelve are unquestionably historical; among them appears Caleb (p. 56) as the prince of Judah. The princes of Reuben and Gad are wanting here, because mention is made of the western side of the

Jordan only; but the prince of Gad may be supplied from 1 Chron. v. 12. Their official authority is magnified by the old law of the days of the Judges in Ex. xxii. 27. As late as the beginning of the Assyrian captivity a prince of Reuben is mentioned, 1 Chron. v. 6.

² Judges xix-xxi.

state of the country when ruled by the sons of Gideon surnamed Jerubbaal or Baal's Antagonist, and read rightly the very graphic narrative contained in Judges ix, it becomes clear that Shechem must have been at that time virtually a free city. Its *Lords* or citizens act with perfect independence on the gravest occasions; set up a king of their own blood, and then not only revolt speedily against their own creature in his absence, but forthwith exercise within their precincts severe retribution upon him and upon any merchants whom he may have protected and furnished with letters of safe-conduct,¹ as only a city accustomed to self-government would do. They are compelled notwithstanding to endure the garrison maintained there by the Prince, which may have retained adherents among the minority of the citizens; yet in defiance of this garrison they receive within their walls a leader hostile to the Prince,² with more and more of his men to aid them in their defence; and then on the approach of danger force him to keep his promise. Can anything be imagined more closely resembling the history of the German and Italian towns in the Middle Ages? It might indeed be urged that Shechem acted thus only as the capital of central Canaan, of the tribe of Ephraim, and consequently of all the tribes (p. 50). But not only is this city represented in the narrative as acting without the slightest reference to Ephraim or to any combination of tribes, but it evidently occupied the position of chief city in a sort of civic league; just as the free cities of Europe in the Middle Ages always endeavoured to secure themselves by mutual alliances. The Baal-berith, i.e. the 'Covenant-god,' was just then, as tradition relates, the favourite deity;³ there was in Shechem a temple to him—evidently his principal temple. Not only was its treasury very rich, but it was applied precisely to the military purposes of the city.⁴ It was an unusually large temple; and ultimately, when the fortunes of the city were on the decline, all the inhabitants of the fortress took refuge in it, preferring to perish with it.⁵ It is impossible not to perceive that Shechem, as its ancient importance and greatness well deserved, was thereby marked out as the head of a great civic league. We are indeed now unable

¹ No other interpretation can be given to the brief words (sufficiently intelligible in their connection) in ver. 25: king Abimelech, it is plain, was then greatly engaged in a distant region, and could not give immediate assistance.

² In ver. 29 לנעל בן יורל must necessarily be read instead of לאבימלך, as it

is impossible otherwise to extract any tolerable meaning. On the topography of Shechem, the hill Salmon, and the so-called Jotham's Pulpit, see John Mills' *Nabloos* p. 58 sqq., 76 sqq., *Göt. Gel. Anz.* 1866, p. 1671 sq.

³ Judges viii. 33.

⁴ Judges ix. 3 sq.

⁵ Judges ix. 46-49.

to name any other city belonging to the federation except Thebez on the north-east, which king Abimelech was obliged to besiege after the fall of Shechem, and where he met an ignominious death through the daring of a courageous woman.¹ But the reason is simply this, that on account of that prince's death the narrative, short as it is, could not avoid mentioning this particular city. But the example of such free civic life and civic leagues was obviously given to these northern regions by their Phenician neighbours and by the ancient Canaanite customs. It is self-evident that the old tribal relations and the division into lots had now lost all real meaning, and that a new principle now predominated, which gave trading and manufacturing cities exclusive franchises and means of prosperity, and even supremacy in the country. It is also easy to understand that with this new federal constitution the new Covenant-god, with his temples, should have been introduced from Phenicia, to take his place beside the ancient national God Jahveh.² Indeed even this short narrative speaks for itself as to the sudden spread of Canaanite ideas, besides the worship of the Covenant-Baal. For when Gaal, son of Jobel,³ marching into Shechem against Abimelech's lieutenant, exclaims to the populace: 'Who is Abimelech, and who is Shechem, that we should serve him? Is he not son of Baal's antagonist, and Zebul his lieutenant? *Serve the men of Hamor, the father of Shechem!* and why should *we* serve this man?' he here is allowed without protest to exalt the posterity of the Canaanite inhabitants of Shechem and its neighbourhood (i. p. 378 sq.), among whom he reckons himself and his warriors, above the chiefs of Hebrew blood,⁴ and recalls with effect the ancient Canaanite renown of the city. Indeed we are here justified in going an important step further. As a free city-life and a civic league like this do not spring up in a moment, and as the great Gideon, whose sons and successors were destroyed with the help of his bastard Abimelech by Shechem, the seat of the worship of the Covenant-Baal, bears the name and fame of 'Baal's Antagonist,' we have a right to assume further that the beginning of this league and of the Covenant-Baal's worship date from Gideon's time, and

¹ Judges ix. 50-57.

² The 'Covenant-Baal,' Judges viii. 33, ix. 4, is in ix. 46 named more in accordance with Hebrew idiom, the 'Covenant-God.'

³ The LXX. adopt throughout this chapter an intrinsically more probable reading, *עבר יובל*; *עבר יובל* is also more

likely to be an ancient Canaanite name.

⁴ Zebul was according to this the commander of the city, who was friendly to the Hebrew king, and could therefore be compared by Gaal in ver. 28 with Shechem, who according to Gen. xxxiv. went over to Israel.

that he bravely and successfully withstood the Canaanite customs, and was therefore surnamed 'Baal's Antagonist;' until his 70 sons and successors perished in the struggle, and thus after Gideon's death the Covenant-Baal became, as tradition has it, the 'Favourite god.'

The further fortunes of this civic life we cannot follow in detail; internal dissensions and the growing power of the Philistines may have injured it not a little; yet the northern portion of the country always retained a decided inclination to a freer, or even quite unshackled national life. There lay the great danger of Absalom's revolt; and thence proceeded the irrepressible demands for freedom after Solomon's death, when Shechem was again the place of meeting and centre of agitation.

The relaxation of the tribal bond in the region beyond Jordan was accelerated by other causes, mentioned at p. 95. This is evident even from the circumstance, that in the history of this and the following centuries we almost always hear of the land of 'Gilead.' The several tribes of Gad and Reuben being little mentioned or distinguished—not at all, indeed, in any relation to the state, as independent and self-contained tribes,—the term 'land of Gilead'—the general name for all the country inhabited by Israel beyond the Jordan, with its countless small territories, all claiming independence—takes their place. In the song of Deborah Gilead is still used to designate Gad beyond Jordan, in contradistinction to Reuben;¹ this distinction is afterwards obliterated in the wider use of the name Gilead. Even where such weighty matters are in question as the formal transfer of the supreme power to a single individual, the transaction is conducted by 'the Elders of Gilead'² only; under which appellation the land of Bashan in the north may also be included.³ We have other evidence to the same effect. The dissevered 'half Manasseh' could not strictly be regarded as having any further connection with the tribes; and it is expressly related, that on one occasion of a great national Assembly the city Jabesh in Gilead, out of pure caprice, entirely excluded itself;⁴ which could not have happened, had it still belonged to the union of tribes.

2. MANNERS OF THE LEVITES.

If the canker-worm of internal decay was thus eating into the vitals of the constitution both of nation and of tribes, and the

¹ Judges v. 15-17; comp. 1 Sam. xiii. 7.

² Judges xi. 4-11.

³ As Deut. xxxiv. 1.

⁴ Judges xxi. 5-12.

highest powers of the state, as they were when first established, were tottering to their fall,—we cannot wonder that the priestly caste, whose duty, as protector of the Jahveh-religion in which the political constitution was included, was strenuously to resist the growing corruption, was on the contrary itself tainted by the infection. It is unfortunately too frequent an experience, that the classes which occupy a middle place between the highest and the lowest, even when they are especially bound to the protection of spiritual interests, seem to imbibe the pestilential influences from above, more fatally than those who dwell lower. If moreover such a caste is endowed, as the tribe of Levi was, with permanent worldly possessions, which may in the beginning appear useful and necessary, but which in fact chain it down tighter and tighter to aims and wishes most incompatible with its true office ; and if the office is at the same time hereditary, so that sons and grandsons are tempted to look only to its worldly advantages ; then the resistance of this privileged class to the ruin which creeps down over the whole community, will scarcely be whole-hearted and effective. With the degeneracy and disgrace of the ruling powers, this body also will sink ; with their return to a better spirit and higher repute, it will rise again. We shall in the course of this history find this to be the case with regard to the tribe Levi.

It would no doubt be a great mistake to suppose that this tribe had already sunk as low in the estimation of the people, or fallen away as far from the religion of Jahveh as in the days of the great Prophets. According to the last author of the Book of Judges, indeed, it might appear so ; since he speaks of the people's continual relapses into the worship of strange gods, Baal, Astarte, and others, which is scarcely conceivable without the participation of the priesthood. But it has been already explained (i. p. 162 sq.) how the vague and general pictures of the dark side of that period, given by that writer, are to be understood. If we were to take too literally such generalisations of later writers with regard to this period, they would be inconsistent with the more ancient authorities, no less than with the real facts of the case. With respect to actual worship of other gods,¹ we have in the first place only the ancient testimony, that from the causes above explained (p. 114 sqq.), temples were dedicated in the northern cities to Baal-berith. Of course, however, men capable of such folly and

¹ That an expression in Deborah's Song, Judges v. 8, has been incorrectly brought forward in this connection, needs no further explanation : see my *Dichter des Alten Bundes* i. p. 126.

weakness might at other times adore other false gods. Periods of indolence, disorganisation, and the voluptuousness and cruelty which were here and there becoming apparent, are favourable to the worship of many new gods; besides which the remains of old superstitions long continued to exist in secret.¹ But taking a broad general view of these centuries, it is impossible not to perceive, that a living memory of the high standard which life had attained through Jahveh was still too deeply rooted in the popular mind, and the general state of the nation, as compared with other nations, had still too much primitive simplicity and straightforwardness, for any great intentional apostasy from Jahveh to have been possible. All the expressions which have come to us from these centuries or even from the time of David, flow from the almost unshaken feeling that none but Jahveh is Israel's God, and scarcely breathe the possibility of any other god being ever worshipped by Israel in the Holy Land. Jahveh is Israel's God and giver of victory, as Chemosh is Moab's God and giver of victory, says Jephthah.² In these words is fully expressed the feeling of joy and confidence which pervaded these centuries, against which such isolated exceptions as that of the Covenant-Baal can prove but little. The great apostasy from Jahveh to other gods begins only after Solomon, from causes which only that period could originate. Isolated instances may however have often occurred still earlier, even where we cannot now prove their existence.

In like manner, during this period there was long paid to the Levites a certain unqualified childlike reverence; as if the memory of the glorious days of Moses and the greatness of the tribe Levi under him still threw on the person of a Levite a peculiar splendour. We have seen (p. 80 sqq.) how this feeling was shown at the time of the occupation of the country; and how powerful must once have been the spiritual influence of this tribe, we may judge by the continued and at length superstitious awe of the Levite priest and his oracle; as shown in the extremely clear narrative of Judges xvii, xviii, and in the whole life of David. The cruelty perpetrated by the *canaille* of a Benjamite city on the concubine of a Levite (Judges xix-xxi)

¹ See my *Alterthümer* p. 255 sq.

² Judges xi. 25. The prophets after the ninth century indeed speak of the false gods of their fathers: Amos ii. 4 (on his notions of time see ix. 11); and especially Jer. ix. 13, xi. 10, xiv. 20, xvi. 11 sq., xxiii. 27; see, especially with reference to the chronology, xxiii. 39, xxxii. 31, xlv. 9, 17. But these expressions are of a very

general character, and no period has been without occasional deflexions into idolatry. On Moses' time the passage of Amos v. 27-29 would be more decisive, if it really had the sense given it by the LXX. and retained in Acts vii. 42 sq. But this is not the original meaning, as I have shown long since in my *Propheten des Alten Bundes* i, and elsewhere.

is the furthest possible from proving the contrary, since the wrath of the whole people thereby aroused was of the hottest and most determined character.

In two respects, however, we cannot but see how the Levites were affected by the corruption of the time. In the first place, many of them took up unsettled habits, and accordingly hired themselves where they were best paid. No doubt the general loss of fixity in all national relations at that time contributed very much to this change of habits. If, for example, one or another of the cities, which as we have seen (p. 81) were assigned to the Levites as their portion at the occupation of the country, was conquered, or became a permanent possession of the enemy,¹ the Levites had to go forth to seek a dwelling elsewhere. But they thus became more and more dependent on the vicissitudes and pressure of the times, as well as on the caprice of those with whom they bartered their position and abilities for bread. We cannot therefore wonder that, in the second place, a dangerous tendency to materialise the Jahveh-religion became prevalent with most of them. The populace too would for the most part like best to behold their Jahveh in the form and fashion of their old household-gods, to set up a gorgeous image of him in their houses, and seek an oracle from him in the manner to which they had been accustomed from the ancient Premosaic time (i. p. 321 sq.). The deeper Mosaic ideas gradually lost their freshness and sharpness, as the clear daylight of the Mosaic period sank deeper and deeper in the mists of remote history; and in this general decay how should the fear of Moses' reproving aspect retain its power to scathe, as it once did, the apostates from the spiritual religion? The lower view of the Jahveh-religion was manifestly on the increase; even Judges favoured it,² and most of the priests no doubt preferred rather to resemble Aaron,³ who yielded to the pleasure of the people, than Moses, who was wroth against it. We still possess in Judges xvii, xviii. a story which describes very vividly these two allurements to which the priesthood now sacrificed its higher dignity.

A young man, Micah of the mountains of Ephraim, whose father seems to have died early, takes to himself a hereditary property of 1100 pieces of silver, entrusted to his mother, to trade with.⁴ His mother's blessing accompanies him, and his affairs prosper rapidly. Like a dutiful son, he restores to her

¹ As we see, pp. 82, 100 sq. in the case of Gazer.

² Ex. xxxii; see i. p. 605 sqq.

³ Even the great Gideon, Judges viii. 27. ⁴ The absurd notion that Micah confesses to having stolen the money from his

the amount of the money formerly in her charge; but she, with true maternal feeling, returns the gift, by having part of it converted into a gorgeous image of God, to be thenceforward the protector of his house. As priest to this god, who is soon set up in a little domestic temple, he first appoints one of his own sons. But a young Levite of Bethlehem in Judah, where he had probably been born during the flight of his parents, and hitherto lived among strangers, comes by in search of employment, and gains the favour of the Ephraimite, who makes him his domestic priest to their mutual satisfaction. But the priest gives a favourable oracle to five spies of the tribe of Dan who pass that way, and who afterwards discover a very suitable place for a new settlement at the city Laish in the far north (p. 62). The same men subsequently conduct 600 armed men of their tribe to Laish, and on their way again pass Micah's house in the master's absence. As the young Levite goes in front of the house to welcome the multitude, the five climb secretly to the chamber in the roof containing the shrine, and carry off the god. The Levite vainly cries out against the deed; they drag him off by force and reduce him to silence. Even he very soon acquiesces, flattered at becoming priest to a whole race, and Micah pursues them in vain. This form of Jahveh-worship, too materialistic especially for a whole community, is actually adopted in the city seized by the freebooters as the public religion, under this priest with his image, and under his posterity! And this Levite, as the narrative further states,¹ was a grandson of Moses himself; so soon did the wide-spreading corruption reach the posterity even of the great champion of Jahveh himself. For although by the usage of the time the word grandson is intended to signify only that this event occurred somewhere near the end of the first century after Moses, what a gulf seems interposed in so brief a time between Moses and this Levite!

From a somewhat later period we possess a remarkable testi-

mother, and receives her blessing notwithstanding, only needs to be plainly stated to be confuted; only לך xvii. 1 is not to be confuted; only לך, like הַקִּרְיָתִי in ver. 3, is the perfect of the will.

¹ Judges xviii. 30 is evidently an addition by the last compiler of the Book of Judges, since it entirely and unnecessarily interrupts the context, and since, the name of this Levite not having been mentioned in the whole story, it here seems a mere extraneous addition. But the infor-

mation itself, as to the name and lineage of this Levite, is unquestionably historical and derived from some other ancient authority (for any seeming contradiction with 1 Kings xii. 29-31 will be explained hereafter). It is fully acknowledged at the present day that it was only the perverse ingenuity of later times to alter the name מִנְשֶׁה into מְנַשֶּׁה, professedly to save Moses' honour by substituting for his family the tribe Manasseh, which had no especial claims to sanctity.

mony, how much this restless wandering of beggared Levites increased in course of time, and how greatly the whole tribe was consequently in danger of forfeiting the respect in which it was held among the people. Jacob's Blessing even ranks the tribe of Levi, in respect of its dispersion and dependence, with that of Simeon, long since fallen very low, and utterly unlike Levi too, and pronounces on both rather a curse than a benediction, in Gen. xlix. 5-7 :

Simeon and Levi, brothers,
Whose pastoral crooks are cruel weapons,
Let not my soul enter into their counsel,
Nor mine honour be united with their assembly.
For in their anger they slew the man,
And in their caprice they houghed the steer ;
Cursed be their anger, that it is unrelenting,
And their wrath, that it cannot be appeased ;
I will divide them over Jacob,
And scatter them over Israel !

It is clear, in the first place, that this sad dispersion of Levi cannot possibly refer to the forty-eight cities which the Levites, according to p. 80 sq., received at the time of the settlement of the tribes. For these were gifts of honour ; and had the Levites been able faithfully to maintain their original independence and dignity, no poet could have dared to speak thus of them, or to place them on a footing with the unhappy tribe of Simeon. In the second place, the deed of the two brothers in the Patriarchal times, which is here alluded to (i. p. 378 sqq.), is manifestly introduced by the poet only as a suitable ground for Jacob's words, which would otherwise have seemed too harsh in the Patriarch's mouth. But if we picture to ourselves the state of the Levites as described in Judges xvii and xviii, only in a more advanced stage of degeneracy, and consider how, by the end of this period, they must have continually sunk in the esteem of all thoughtful men (before David, or probably even Eli, raised their dignity again), all becomes intelligible ; and we thus possess in this sentence a very instructive piece of evidence on one phase in the many-coloured history of a tribe, which always varied with the varying fortunes of the people at large.

And if we follow this tribe down to the end of this whole period, the aberrations of ordinary Levites, reported from the second or third century after Moses, appear even insignificant beside the artfully-devised transgressions which are related of the sons of Eli. Never is the hopeless moral degeneracy of the higher classes so clearly seen as when the younger generation

values its rank only for the immunity it secures to its crimes. Thus the sons both of Eli and of Samuel afford a most telling proof, that at the end of this period the powers of government were irremediably corrupt, and that if the ruin of the entire state were to be averted in time, some new and healthy energies must be called into play to prevent the pestilential upper air from gradually sinking down over the mass of the people, to the irreparable destruction of all.

3. THE MANNERS OF THE PEOPLE.

It has been already said of the people at large, that they were as yet but little tainted with the moral corruption of the degenerate age. A certain relapse into savagery could not but show itself in such times and places as had long suffered from the scourge of war. Yet such acts as cutting off the king of Bezek's thumbs and great toes are not unheard of in the early history of nations not exactly savage;¹ and the confusion of these times rather delayed the growth of gentler manners and arts, than stifled that germ of them which lay in the Jahveh-religion. The loosening of the stricter bonds of order and morals at times drew many into a state of warfare with society; especially in the land beyond the Jordan, where the mixture of races was greatest, and where a wandering life was rendered easy by the cavernous mountains and extent of desert country. Of these Jephthah is an example.² In other ways again might the strict old popular notions be relaxed, in the growing civic life of the northern country, whose tendency to Canaanite customs was alluded to at p. 114 sq. But in general there was maintained a primitive simplicity and soundness of heart, full of dignity and elevation; sustained by the consciousness of a higher strength in Jahveh, giver of victory to Israel, and terrible to Israel's foes. Something better than the Arab's love of isolation and wildness, or than the Phœnician greed of gain, must have lain deep in Israel's heart. But these were probably the two great moral dangers to be avoided; and against both of these Israel's better self strove bravely, even in the worst of times. This is most evident from the songs of Deborah, with

¹ Judges i. 6. *Ancient Persian Inscriptions of Bisutun* ii. 13 sq. Caesar relates (*B.G.* viii. 41) with perfectly frivolous excuses, how he caused the hands of all the men bearing arms in the city Uxellodunum to be chopped off. In comparison with this, what is told of the king

of Bezek is mere child's play, especially as it was only a slight retaliation. The practice was indeed an ancient Arab custom; see W. Roth's *Ogba der Eroberer Nordafrika's* p. 35 sq.

² Judges xi. 13; see with reference to David 1 Sam. xxii. 2.

her sharp rebukes of the pastoral tribes on the east, and the Phenician tendencies of the two most to the west. And what a pure patriotic spirit, what an inexhaustible vitality, what joyous trust in Jahveh, breathes through these songs of Deborah, despite their savage longing for slaughter and revenge, nourished through years of warfare! What true heroism and self-abnegation must have directed the actions, both in war and in hard-won peace, of Gideon, 'Baal's Antagonist,' who emerged suddenly from the lower ranks of the people to be the liberator of his nation and its ruler for many a year; though in worshipping Jahveh by an image he too paid tribute to his age! How many a city in Israel may have been able to boast, like Abel on the Phenician frontier in the furthest north, of its fair fame before all the world and of its faithful adherence to the wise precepts handed down from olden times!¹ We have already shown (p. 92, 96) what unbroken national strength was preserved, amid all the unfavourable influences of the times, in the larger compact groups—especially in the whole of Judah and the countries beyond the Jordan. Even the saying current in old times, 'such folly should not be wrought in Israel,'² points to a national life still sound and morally awake; provided that such beautiful words are used honestly, and have really, as in those days, a direct influence for good upon the whole people.

But we see here, as happens naturally to any nation in a time of such general relaxation of better influences, that the insubordination and boundless profligacy which lurked in all this social disorder and mental confusion, very soon comes to the surface, not all at once nor in equal strength, but here and there all the more audaciously. The tribe of Benjamin, leaning on Joseph, was from the first both bold and warlike (p. 53 sqq.); if in the decadence of the times it inclined somewhat to Canaanite manners and licentiousness, this only affords a parallel to what we have observed (p. 114 sq.) with regard to Ephraim. Now licentiousness in the sexual relations is shown by the traditions respecting Sodom, Moab, and Ammon,³ to have been at an early period by no means unknown to the Canaanites. At Gibeah, one of the Benjamite cities on the road from Jerusalem

¹ 2 Sam. xx. 17 sq.

² This saying is found in early writings, Gen. xxxiv. 7 (comp. 31), Josh. vii. 15, Judges xix. 23 (comp. xx. 10), 2 Sam. xiii. 12 sq.; afterwards repeated in Deut. xxii. 21 and elsewhere.

³ Gen. xix. 1-10, 30-38. Undoubtedly

these traditions indicate a difference between the Canaanites and Lot's children; but we should greatly err if we failed to notice the extreme disapprobation of such customs expressed in the tradition on the subject in Gen. xix. 30-38.

to Shiloh, occurred in the latter half¹ of this anarchical period a deed of horror, followed immediately by evil consequences for Israel. It is detailed minutely in Judges xix-xxi. as a terrible example of the days before the monarchy, and is adduced even by Prophets² as an instance of the extremest crimes of which Israel was capable in early times.

A Levite in the northern mountains of Ephraim, who, like the one before mentioned (p. 120), does duty for wages, is deserted by his concubine, who is not happy with him³ and betakes herself to her father in Bethlehem of Judah. Four months after he follows her, succeeds in satisfying her, and is well received by her father. As if from some foreboding of his daughter's unhappy fate, the father endeavours from hour to hour to detain him, whenever he wishes to return home. At last he starts one afternoon from Bethlehem, refuses to stop the night in the then Canaanite city of Jerusalem, and arrives late at Gibeah, where he obtains a night's lodging with difficulty, and only in the house of a poor old man, himself a foreigner from Ephraim. But in the night the Benjamite scoundrels want to make game of him; to save his own life he is compelled to give out to them his concubine, whom they abuse to death. After this dreadful deed, the national Assembly is called together at Mizpeh, near the scene of horror, by the token mentioned at p. 112; and in proportion to the enormity of a crime 'unheard of in Israel,' is the horror of the Assembly, and the firm resolve to inflict fitting retribution. As the tribe Benjamin will not deliver up the guilty persons, the campaign is at once fixed by the Assembly (which always came together armed) to begin immediately on the return to Gibeah of the tenth men sent to procure necessary provisions; and Judah was chosen by the Oracle to go first. In the first two attempts, notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, they fail to overcome a tribe highly proficient in war, and now fighting in desperation for life and honour. But the Oracle in Bethel, the nearest sacred place, still requires each time that the war should be carried on without hesitation. At the third time it is only by a stratagem that they succeed in obtaining a decided advantage over Benjamin. Whilst the main body retreat to

¹ The event described in Judges xx. 28 is placed at the end of the first century after Moses; yet many indications induce us to transfer it to a much later period; partly because, in Saul's time, the tribe of Benjamin had evidently not yet recovered from this great misfortune, 1 Sam. ix. 21.

² Hos. ix. 9, x. 9.

³ For וְתִזְנֶה xix. 2 read וְתִזְנֶה, in the sense 'she complained of him,' was not contented in her marriage; as indeed may be easily supposed of a concubine who was evidently well-descended.

the north and east in feigned flight, an ambush makes its way into the city; and the smoke of the burning Gibeah is to the army the preconcerted signal to face round suddenly from their feigned flight, and turn upon the Benjamites,¹ who are now assailed without intermission on two sides. Then begins the carnage, close to the east of Gibeah; and of 25,700² armed Benjamites only 600 escape, who hide in a rock,³ close to the desert near the Jordan. But although in the first outburst of wrath the Benjamite cities were destroyed with fire and sword, and every one had sworn at the first never to give his daughter to any one of the few survivors of the tribe, the people were soon overpowered by pity, and by the fear of losing a whole tribe out of Israel. The Elders, taking advantage of this favourable change of feeling, enquired at the national assembly, which was immediately held at Shiloh,⁴ whether any city had absented itself from this raid of vengeance; whereupon it was found that Jabesh beyond the Jordan had not appeared. There was again a campaign of devastation against Jabesh, from which only 400 virgins were spared, being destined for so many of the Benjamites. To the remaining Benjamites they gave permission to carry off a sufficient number of women at the approaching festival at the Sanctuary of Shiloh, and offered their mediation with the relatives of the women thus captured.⁵

4. PROGRESS IN ART AND LITERATURE.

It would be extremely perverse to conclude from these single outbreaks of savage licentiousness, that such was the condition

¹ The narrative in ch. xx. is somewhat confused, since the latest compiler does not keep close enough to his evidently very copious authority. Verse 23 tells what should precede ver. 22; in 32-35 the writer first gives in an abbreviated form what he afterwards, adhering more faithfully to his authority, describes at greater length in vv. 36-46. Moreover, וְהָרָב in

ver. 38 is בְּ flight; in ver. 43 is wanting after וְהָרָב.

² On comparing the numbers in xx. 15 sq. with ver. 35 and then with vv. 44-46 (where only by some oversight the 100 men, again mentioned in ver. 35, can have been omitted), the meaning seems to be, that all except the 600 who escaped fell on that one day; of the insignificant number who probably fell in the two first days, no count is taken. But then certainly in ver. 15, at least in the original authority,

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שֵׁשֶׁת must have stood instead of חֲמִשָּׁה. The former is better also, because all the numbers given in the narrative on both sides are only round numbers.

³ At Rimmon, probably, the present Rumman, to the east of Bethel.

⁴ The narrative from xxi. 5 refers (according to ver. 12) to the resolution taken at Shiloh, not in Bethel (ver. 2), where only the immediate mourning solemnity was held.

⁵ By entreating them to regard those who had been carried off as gifts to themselves (the Elders), because at Jabesh they had not obtained a sufficient number of female prisoners to fulfil their promise to the 600. Thus also they who had taken the oath would not directly give their daughters to the Benjamites, which, of course, would have been a crime. This is the sense of the words in xxi. 22; בְּקָרָן is as brief an expression as בְּ in Jer. xxii. 15 sq.

of all the cities and tribes—the more so since we have seen them followed up by immediate punishment through a powerful movement on the part of the whole people. On the contrary, we see that much antique virtue and unperturbed strength was preserved under the shelter of the Jahveh-religion. Thus shielded, the people continued to make progress in many of the arts of life, notwithstanding the unfavourable aspect of the times; of which we have general as well as special evidence.

In general, it is unquestionable that the great bulk of the people had become perfectly settled, and had recourse to war only on the most pressing occasions. In most parts of the country cultivating the rich soil; in some, as in Judah, compelled by local circumstances to make pasturage their chief object,—all cling with equal love to the conquered land, now for some centuries held as their own. Those times were soon over, when every tribe, as at first all Israel (p. 32), had only a camp for its head-quarters,¹ and was always fully prepared for war. Indeed their love for the soil and for peaceful labour soon goes so far as to induce many (p. 99 sqq.) even to submit themselves to individual Canaanites; and towards the close of this period almost all prefer becoming tributary to the Philistines. That they were long subject to such tribute, will be further shown hereafter.

Some portions of the people, too, soon arrive at a stage beyond husbandry. It has already been mentioned (p. 63, 114 sq.) that the cities bordering on Phenicia and on the sea soon began to take part in the arts and commerce of their neighbours. The dutiful son in Ephraim, who (according to p. 120) could give back his money with interest, must have embarked it in trade and commerce; and the civic league which we have seen at p. 114 sq. had certainly something more than husbandry in view.

How the more delicate arts of life, poetry, music, and wit, were cultivated and prized, we can still see tolerably clearly. The few great songs of this period which have been preserved in a perfect condition, the ancient Passover-Song in Ex. xv, which must have been expanded, shortly after the conquest of the country, out of the short song of triumph sung at the time under Moses on the shore of the Red Sea, and was no doubt sung yearly at the Sanctuary in Shiloh, and still more Deborah's two songs, with fragments of many others, prove most certainly that poetry flourished in those days, and formed one of the noblest elements in the national life. And though the poetry remained

¹ From which state of things, for example, dates the local name 'Dan's Camp,' Judges xiii. 25, comp. xviii. 7, 11.

almost entirely lyric, yet the songs of Deborah, so artistic, with all their antique simplicity, show to what refined art lyric poetry very early aspired, and what a delicate perception of beauty breathed already beneath its still stiff and cumbrous garb.¹ A people which thus on every higher occasion felt itself elevated by refined poetry, and in which songs full of art and wit, sung in alternate choirs by all who bore part in the solemnity, formed the real life and best consecration of a popular festival (and Deborah's songs are clearly of this kind), cannot be considered to stand upon any low level. This is neither the old Arabian lay, which always seems the mere strain of a solitary wandering minstrel, nor the Homeric song, ministering to the placid delight of the multitude. It has not the peculiarly high finish nor the long-drawn threads of the Epos, but germinates in the very heart of the people, and cannot be fully developed without their personal cooperation. But the Lyric always presupposes dance and song; and though many indications lead us to suppose that in ordinary life, from the warlike character of these rude times, such arts were mostly left to women² (who had also the honour of distributing the spoil in the rejoicings after victory,³ and in general enjoyed unusual freedom and respect),⁴

¹ I have already treated of these ancient songs elsewhere. As, however, since 1838, I have made many fresh observations on the strophes of the songs and the plan of the choruses, which all lead to the conclusion that the art displayed in them was much greater than I then believed, I now add the following remarks on these two great ancient songs. Deborah's song, on closer examination of its subject and form, is found to consist of two songs: the Hymn, vv. 2-11, and the actual Song of victory sung later on the same day in the triumphal procession, vv. 12-31. The hymn consists of three, and this Epinikion of six, exactly similar strophes: 3-5, 6-8, 9-11. Ver. 2 is prelude and challenge, as is also ver. 12; and after every three strophes comes a short spirited refrain, evidently intended to be sung in chorus by the whole people: the last clause of ver. 11, and of ver. 21, and ver. 31. I will only remark further, that *לְחָמֵם* in ver. 11 must signify (as the LXX. take it) *Singers*, properly *those who keep line or order*, and hence *rhythm*; and that *לָחֵם* in ver. 8, according to my *Lehrb.* § 131 b, is to be pronounced as a passive *lochèm*; (comp. also *לָחֵם*, as must be read in 2 Sam. xv. 31); see also *Jahrb.*

der Bibl. Wiss. iv. p. 156. The song in Ex. xv. falls into four equal strophes, if we assume what for many reasons is probable, that after ver. 12 some lines are lost; ver. 1 being the prelude and ver. 18 the *coda*. The next great song, Ps. xviii., consists of ten strophes of five verses each: 1) vv. 2-4 [1-3], prelude; 2) vv. 5-9 [4-8]; 10-14 [9-13]; 15-20 [14-19]; -21-25 [-20-24]; 26-31 [25-30]; -32-36 [-31-35]; 37-41 [36-40]; 42-46 [41-45]; 3) vv. 47-51 [46-50], *coda*. In 2 Sam. i. 19-24, three short strophes may be discriminated; vv. 19 sq., 21 sq., 23 sq. In 1 Sam. ii. 1-3; 4-6; 7 sq.; 9 sq.; four strophes in all. This one additional remark in passing—that the great song Deut. xxxii. falls into six strophes of seven verses each: vv. 1-7; 8-14; 15-21; 22-27; 28-35; 36-42; 43, the *coda* or short concluding strophe.

² Comp. Ex. xv. 20 sq., Judges v. 12, xi. 34, 1 Sam. xviii. 6-9, xxi. 12.

³ Judges v. 11, Ps. lxviii. 12 [11] sq.; comp. Is. ix. 2 [3].

⁴ Think of Miriam, Deborah, Abigail, the maiden of Solomon's Song, and many similar proofs how little Hebrew antiquity can have corresponded to the Islamite East.

we yet see from other testimony that the man and the warrior was not necessarily dishonoured by participating in such pursuits.¹ Even in the heroes of this period playful wit and competition in various sports and ingenious inventions were considered graceful accomplishments in prosperity and a solace under difficulties; and the people found in these innocent resources an effective weapon against the evil times, to ward off despair of themselves or of their better destiny. This is shown in the history of Samson, who in this is the type and ideal of his nation.

The surest sign of the intellectual activity of this period is the appearance of a popular literature, a fact which on closer inspection seems indisputable. It has been already explained (i. p. 45 sqq. 442) that the first beginnings of Hebrew literature go back to the days of Moses and Joshua. That these beginnings not only retained their vitality under the darkening shadows of the time, but were further developed, may have been very much owing to the example of Israel's Phenician neighbours, who were long practised in writing. But the growth of a tolerably extensive popular literature in these centuries is attested by many proofs. We have seen (i. p. 587 sqq.) the strong tendency of the age to a half-poetical literature of legal ordinances. And further, we have in the Old Testament most important remains of an historical work composed in the second half of this period, which has been described at i. p. 68 sqq., as the oldest known to us of such length. This work contained not only a great wealth of stories, but also attempts to describe the historical origin of the laws; not mere citations from popular songs, but also artistic compositions, such as the Blessing of Jacob in Gen. xlix. And this was certainly not the first historical work; as is proved (i. p. 64 sqq.) by many fragments and traces of very early writings. Besides, it was impossible that songs so long and so artistic as those of Deborah, with so marked and sustained an individual character, could remain many years unwritten; and that they were in fact very early written down, we see from their being imitated by the writer of Jacob's Blessing, which also falls within this period (p. 68 sq.). Such indications prove beyond dispute that literature had by this time advanced far beyond its first poor beginnings.

Thus under all the pressure and inquietude of the times, the

¹ We do not here refer so much to David (who in this respect rather represents a new phase), 1 Sam. xvi. 18, xviii. 10, 2 Sam. vi. 14-23, and from a later time Ps. xxx. 12 [11], cxlix. 3, as to the participation of the men which is assumed in Judges v. 1, 9 sq., and to Samson in Judges xvi. 25.

more delicate intellectual arts still grew and flourished; nor could the crushing weight keep permanently back those germs of a higher life which lay enfolded in the Jahveh-religion. But in this period, when all superior authority incessantly fluctuated, it was scarcely to be hoped that all the people's endeavours would take firm root; and unless a new and sounder national life had arisen, the first blossoms of an upward-striving culture would in all probability have been nipped in the bud.

C. THE COMMENCEMENT OF AN IMPERFECT HUMAN GOVERNMENT. THE JUDGES.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

We have now sufficiently seen in what manner a gradual, irremediable decay came upon that form of the Jahveh-religion in which it first appeared among the people which it sought to influence. Amid its youthful luxuriance and vigour there was one defect, at first imperceptible, but soon the root of ever-growing mischief. The Theocracy, by pronouncing any human ruler unnecessary as a permanent element of the state, lapsed into anarchy, weakness, and confusion. Strengthened in this belief by her first success, she gradually came to look on such a human ruler as opposed to her very essence; she was stiffened into inaction amid the evils already springing out of this delusion, and repelled the salutary measures which might have saved her. Indeed it is the most remarkable phenomenon of these centuries of disorganisation, and at the same time the explanation of all their fortunes, that for a long time no one dared so much as to breathe the thought of nominating a man as king.

1. But where disorganisation is at work in the domain of the soul, new life is already trying, though secretly, to develop itself; and if the body be strong enough to overleap all the intermediate stages between the decaying past and its better counterpart, and thus await the fortunate moment of the new birth, it may hope not in vain to begin a fresh youth under better external conditions. When a nation is without a government strong enough to repress lawlessness within and to protect from foes without, and all is thus resolved into a condition¹ which philosophers of modern times falsely call the

¹ As is very strikingly described in Is. iii. 1-7.

state of nature, the whole people very soon divides once more into the two ranks of master and servant; around those who seem strong enough to protect, gather others who serve them in peace and war for the sake of their protection; and this without the sanction of existing law, but by internal necessity, as if by the very nature of human things a new order must spring out of chaos. According to the very clear descriptions in Deborah's songs, all Israel, as far as it lay within her circle of vision, was divided into princes and people;¹ the people, that is to say, adhered to certain individual leaders, each of whom might act according to his own pleasure. Hence the nation consisted of innumerable self-constituted and self-sustained kingdoms, formed wherever some chieftain elevated himself, whom individuals or the body of citizens of a town were willing to serve. But in each one of these states a more permanent order and subordination have a tendency to arise. Gaal son of Jobel entered Shechem with troops raised by himself (p. 115), just like a *Condottiere* in Italy in the Middle Ages. If upon some extraordinary occasion the National Assembly was ever convened, the division into tribes was far from being the ruling principle, as in the days of Moses and Joshua; but the 'corner-stones'—i.e. the supports or princes of the whole nation—'of all the tribes of Israel' appear in the assembly with their armed followers;² and still the single city of Jabesh purposely absents itself (p. 125). This gives a clear intimation what form things were assuming, in the disintegration of the constitution as a whole, and the corresponding relaxation of the ancient relations among the tribes.

Some effort to escape from the confusion of this period of anarchy might indeed appear in various ways; even the civic league referred to at p. 114 sqq. might originate, as far as there was any good in it, in a blundering attempt of this kind, though by erecting temples to the Covenant-Baal, as well as to Jahveh, it recorded its own condemnation. Yet no solution of the difficulty was more easily attained than this—that from among, or in place of, those chieftains whom an inevitable necessity had created, one ruler with power to reunite and

¹ The chiefs are in these songs not once called 'the elders,' as they were probably in prose, using the old name which was retained from the division into tribes; but 'the tops' ver. 2; 'the arbiters' vv. 9, 14; 'the nobles' ver. 13, comp. 25; 'the princes' ver. 15, comp. Judges x. 18; 'the holders of the staff of judgment,' ver. 14.

They are described as those who ride upon white asses, in contrast to those who sit in vehicles, or those who (being still poorer) walk on the road; for it is better (even in ver. 10) to distinguish only these two main classes of men; see Judges x. 4, xii. 14.

² Judges xx. 2.

protect the whole nation should at length go forth and endeavour to reconcile a true human national government with the Theocracy. As it became evident that the nation could not permanently dispense with an earthly government, it was forced to consent, if it would not utterly perish, to rally round some powerful human leader, and to obey, next to Jahveh, a king chosen from among themselves. And in fact we see during this period not a few rulers whom the whole people more or less obeyed; as if that human monarchy which seemed to be an inscrutable necessity were everywhere likely to assert itself, and to supply a deficiency which only became more oppressive with delay.

But, on the other hand, the feeling founded on the Theocracy of Jahveh (i. 568 sqq.) remained in all the best of the nation for centuries so fresh and strong, that leaders who owed their elevation to circumstances could not be easily transformed into regular kings, even if they could reconcile it with their own religion; which, as the example of Gideon shows, was by no means always the case. To exceptional dictators the state offered no strong resistance; their power over the people arises from the very necessity of things, and is therefore in its commencement the strongest imaginable force, the immediate working of an irresistible spirit, carrying the people with it by the manifest results of its innate energy; infinitely higher and stronger than that of many a king, however properly anointed and enthroned, in after times, when the monarchy had been established once for all. The Book of Judges not only represents these rulers as in general raised up by Jahveh,¹ but also, in the case of those whose origin or whose great deeds it more particularly describes, mentions how, moved by a sudden access of Jahveh's spirit, they began to express their greatness.² Indeed we have every reason to suppose that these vivid descriptions, how the spirit of Jahveh came irresistibly upon them and protected them from the people, existed in the ancient authorities on which our present Book of Judges is founded. Even from the scanty memorials which we still possess, we can distinctly see that these giant creators and pioneers of human sovereignty in combination with the Theocracy, had the origin of their power not in chance nor in their own will, but in

¹ Judges ii. 16; comp. iii. 9, 15—words of the last author.

² Besides Deborah, who as prophetess professes of course the power of the Spirit, this is mentioned in iii. 10, xi. 29, xiii. 25, and elsewhere of Samson; of Gideon in

more poetic language in vi. 34; but curiously not of Ehud, whose act was more deliberately carried out, and was, moreover, not quite worthy of a prophet, according to the idea of the later narrators.

tremendous contests with the evils of the time. In the earliest Judges most of all, as Ehud and Gideon, the native power of rule is first involuntarily roused at some critical moment of oppression by foreigners, when all other help is gone, and nothing remains but the deadly resolve and incalculable energy of the individual. When by such wondrous deeds against enemies they have become the saviours and benefactors of the people, and their commission to rule has thus received the seal of Heaven, then, and not till then, is their preeminence even in times of peace gladly acknowledged.

We may therefore say that at least in the earliest and most powerful of the Judges, something of the same spirit was continued which displayed itself first and with mightiest force in Moses. For as he first, in time of urgent need, was impelled solely by the Spirit to become the redeemer of his people, and then maintained his authority solely by the Spirit; so they also, though with less measure of the Divine Spirit. What in him was most marvellous and sublime, is continued for a long time in them, though in ever feebler oscillations; as in the New Testament the working of miracles is continued to the Apostles. And whenever that once mighty Spirit began to breathe again with greater strength, it restored for the time a more stirring life and a firmer cohesion to the relaxed disjointed body. Thus we still see even in the Judges a foundation for the same wonderful manifestations as in Moses. Where free spiritual activity is at its highest tension, the most marvellous results are evolved; and in these great men the human spirit, in perfect trust, allowed itself to be guided by an inspiration of free Divine energy. This is the miracle incomprehensible to the world.

Yet, great as these rulers might be, their power over the people was after all only something casual—a favour bestowed by Heaven upon themselves, which might come and go without any alteration in the legal bases of the state; it was at best only tolerated, not regarded as legal and necessary. It was not without reason that these rulers never bore the name *Melek* or *Moshel* (answering to the Greek βασιλεύς), *King*. That name would have ascribed to them a power which they could not claim—a power logically and necessarily coextensive with the state itself. Therefore the name *Shōfet*, i.e. Judge, was finally adopted, after it had become apparent that in time of peace the people gladly availed themselves, in judicial matters, either of their influence and possible decision by the strong hand, or of their wise counsel. But the name is quite unknown in

Deborah's songs, and obviously did not arise till a later time.¹ There could of course in their case be no question of anointing, nor of hereditary rank. Their power manifestly extended over the tribes only as far as they were able to enforce it; indeed not more than two or three among them appear to have ruled with equal authority over all. Not unfitly was the whole long period between Joshua and the kings named after them, although a considerable time evidently elapsed before any Judge appeared, and the earlier ones, at least, never succeeded each other immediately. But all that was greatest in those times was certainly due to them; and some of their names shine eternally like bright stars in the long night of a troubled age.

2. It thus appears that in those centuries the people received the blessings of unity and fixed order as rarely as the land the refreshment of thunder showers. As in very ancient times it was only at certain moments that men first felt the full power and presence of the Divine, so this ancient people only became at times aware of the necessity as well as the blessings of an earthly sovereignty. Separate portions indeed—tribes, cities, or provinces, by themselves—might possibly flourish, if fortune favoured; but the advantages of order and security for the whole nation never endured but for a while.

With the manner of life and the official proceedings of the individual Judges we are little acquainted in detail, because the Book of Judges only gives extracts from longer narratives, often of a very meagre description, and sometimes only the faint echoes of earlier tradition. But with respect to Samuel, the last, and in a certain sense the most distinguished of the Judges, we possess some more circumstantial descriptions of the mode of his internal administration, whence we can form an approximate idea with regard to many of the other Judges; although it is certain that any fixed habits would have little chance of establishing themselves in such a sphere.

During the long oppression of a stormy time, the nation at last gathered more and more unanimously around Samuel, like terrified chickens around the parent hen. In his spirit they learned to put their trust; he summons a National Assembly,

¹ The well-known Carthaginian *Suffetes* derive their name from the same word, but being a permanent and legal dignity in the state, are not in the least worthy of comparison. Yet it was assuredly not without some influence from Phenician phraseology that the name became finally established; especially as the peculiar

Israelite name for such a dignity would rather be *ṣāḡ* Judges xi. 6, 11, Is. iii. 6 sq. Josephus, however, likes to call these rulers Monarchs, and their government Monarchy, as differing both from the antecedent priestly 'Aristocracy,' and from the Kingdom which succeeded.

which willingly allows itself to be guided, reprov'd, admonish'd, and judg'd, by him.¹ This commences his position as a Judge; but this had really existed before, at all events in the memory of an earlier age; and could thus easily be repeated in his case. Yet even he still needed a glorious victory, and the complete deliverance of the people, to confirm his dignity.² But afterwards he governs even in peace, with the abiding confidence of the people in his proved strength of spirit; and to facilitate, both for himself and the people, his judicial functions, he makes a yearly circuit through several places of ancient sanctity in the centre of the country,—Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpeh,—which were also not too remote from his dwelling-place; possibly visiting one of these places upon each of the three chief yearly festivals, when any who wished their cause heard could easily await him.³ But he always returned to Ramah, his birth-place, where he had his altar and his house, and finally his tomb; and whither those who sought justice constantly repaired to him. The Book of Judges in like manner mentions the dwelling and burial-place of each of the Judges after Gideon.⁴ It may hence be inferred that no Judge had his seat necessarily in the centre of the kingdom; only Eli, being at the same time High Priest, dwelt in Shiloh; each of the others remained in his natural home. The National Assembly is if possible gathered around him; and he stands in the same relation to it as in the legalised constitution of our own countries the prince to the Estates. It is not however necessarily bound by his final decision.⁵ Samuel in old age appoints his sons as his assistants; and the power of Gideon and other Judges seems gradually to have devolved on their sons; but this is not compulsory on the people;⁶ and through the whole of this long period there was no successful attempt to make the highest dignity actually hereditary. So simple and so wholly dependent on mutual confidence this office always continued to be; and scarcely anywhere in early antiquity is it so easy to trace the original character of a new supreme power.

3. This office, however circumscribed and dependent on personal qualities, and however slow it might be in attaining importance, at least supplied in some measure the sore need of the age, and thus could not but obtain by degrees a certain prescriptive right, and so accomplish its circle of possible

¹ 1 Sam. vii. 2, 5 sq.

² Ibid. vv. 7-15.

³ Ibid. v. 16.

⁴ Judges viii. 32, x. 2, 4, xii. 7, 10, 12, .

15, xvi. 31; in like manner respecting Joshua, Josh. xxiv. 30.

⁵ 1 Sam. viii. 4-22.

⁶ 1 Sam. viii. 1 sq., 5.

development. From the inmost heart of the nation these rulers sprang; from its grievous oppression, from its very blood. The priesthood, until far later times, had no part therein; the prophetess Deborah, in her office as Judge, stands in no connection with the sacerdotal order. Moreover, the necessity for the office extended only to those parts of the country where the evils of political disorganisation were most severely felt. It has already been shown (p. 89 sq.) that except Othniel (whom the arranger of the series introduces here and places first, from a motive peculiar to himself as a Judean), all these Judges taken from the people belong to the northern and eastern tribes. With the great Gideon the office reaches its culminating point on this stage;¹ it seems ready to pass into monarchy, if the strong objections already explained did not present a continual hindrance. Once indeed, on an extraordinary occasion in the middle of this period, a ray of the much-needed light flashes suddenly across the darkness: when the people, in a moment of high-wrought enthusiasm, offer to the great Gideon the hereditary dignity. But in implicit reverence for the national faith, he unhesitatingly declines it.² Afterwards, when Abimelech, the worst of his sons, by the aid of a city infatuated with a delusive idea of freedom, forcibly made himself king,³ his short but cruel and detested reign strengthened the former dread of such a government, and long postponed the necessity which must come sooner or later. The general helplessness and confusion were but increased, and matters brought to such an extremity, that no choice remained but total destruction or the subordination of that fear to a higher one.

II. NUMBER, ORDER, AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE JUDGES.

It is clear from what has just been said, that even in the unconnected series of these exceptional rulers, there is an internal law of progress, and that with the development of the age the time of the Judges must be divided into three distinct periods. Gideon and his times form the culminating point of these centuries and their rulers; the Judges who preceded him differ from him as widely as those who followed. But we must first give some general expositions of the chronology of the several Judges and the entire period.

1. The Book of Judges, or the authority on which it relies

¹ Not without reason is Gideon placed foremost, even in Heb. xi. 32.

² Judg. viii. 22 sq.

³ Judges ix.

in iii. 7-xvi, enumerates, including Samson and Abimelech (king for a short time), precisely twelve rulers before Eli, each with a definite computation of his period of rule and of the preceding interval of oppression by external enemies; so that all the periods named might be consecutive.¹ This is evidently a first attempt to make a sort of survey of times, events, and rulers belonging to this dark period, using for that purpose the conspicuous names of the Judges. But although such an attempt to hold all these scattered memories together on one uniting thread is better than nothing, we must be on our guard against finding in it more than it contains.

For in the first place, certain traces lead us to the conclusion that before Eli and Samuel there were more of these rulers than the twelve. We cannot indeed appeal with certainty to a passage in one of Samuel's speeches, where a certain Bedan seems to be named.² This discourse is only given by the last author but one of the Books of Samuel; and we have no right to expect from such a source a perfect acquaintance with high antiquity, or an addition to the number of great men known to us. We have rather every reason to regard this name as only a corruption of Abdon, so called elsewhere;³ respecting whose deeds, however, the author must have known from earlier writings more than we now have in the Book of Judges. But Deborah's song (ver. 6) distinctly names two Judges before her own time, one of whom at least is foreign to the series of twelve. The first of the two, Shamgar, we certainly do find introduced with a very brief notice in iii. 31; but that this is a mere interpolation by the last author but one (who was induced by Deborah's song to introduce what very little he knew of Shamgar from other sources), is shown by the absence of any chronological data, the exceptional style in which this

¹ This is however by no means clear from x. 8, where the present author, following his authority, appears to continue from the year last named in ver. 3; though he has rendered the connection too remote by interpolating vv. 5-7. Comp. i. p. 64.

² 1 Sam. xii. 11. The LXX. made a false guess at Barak; quite as incorrectly, the Rabbis explain it by בן דן *Dan's Son*, i.e. Samson. But a man's name בן דן is found in 1 Chron. vii. 17. The judge **בדק**, mentioned by Ibn-Abu-Osaibia in the *Journ. As.* 1854, ii. p. 213 is a corruption of Barak. Also Samer, who ruled

one year (in Theophilus to *Autolycus* iii. 24) seems only to have originated in Shamgar, but is curiously placed after Samson, whom in other respects he greatly resembles; and the Samanja placed after Samson in Josephi *Hypomnest.* xi. edit. Fabric. (or even Samanja and Samir according to the Latin translation, which here and elsewhere often differs, without any explanation from Fabricius) must also certainly be the same. The *Ἀβεδδεδδον* in the long epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians iii. is probably a corruption from *Ἀδβ καὶ Ἀμδν Ἀμαδδδον* (1 Kings and Esther), and not a Judge at all.

³ Judg. xii. 13-15.

one hero is mentioned,¹ and the undeniable break of the context.² This leads us conversely to the important fact that the series of twelve, with the chronological data, were previously known to this author from an earlier book. The other Judge named by Deborah, Jael, is indeed involved in still greater obscurity;³ but it is very probable that he is really identical with the Jair, who is now ranked as far down as the seventh of the twelve. The letters of the names do not differ too much; and other independent reasons which will presently appear, are in favour of the opinion that this Jair lived in very early times, and before Deborah.

Further, the rulers appear at the first glance as if judging the whole country; and certainly there would be no opposition if ever a ruler were applied to by tribes beyond his own immediate domain. But on looking into the matter by the help of all traces that are still discernible, we find the circle of each Judge's functions very distinctly limited. Except Othniel, who stands first and in a peculiar position, they belong (those mentioned by Deborah included) neither to Judah nor to Simeon, as was explained at p. 89 sq.; and granting that with the exception of these two tribes, the influence of Deborah and Gideon may perhaps have extended to all the rest, yet the achievements of Jephthah belong principally to the east, and those of Samson to the narrow limits of the Philistine west. It is still more evident that each hero had his own special scene of action, where even after his death his deeds were properly praised and commemorated. Deborah is the typical prophetess of the northern, Gideon the great hero of the central tribes; Jephthah the pride of the land beyond the Jordan, which boasted of him as its deliverer and protector; Samson the ideal of joyous strength, struggling at unequal odds against Philistine ascendancy. In fact, it is clear as day, that the most important authorities employed by the first author of this book, were collected from various parts of the country. Thus we have, first, Deborah's song; then two large portions respecting Gideon and his sons, chap. vi-viii, and ix, each of which may be still distinguished by its very peculiar language, ch. ix. containing especially vivid delineations of ancient times;

¹ For it is clear that elsewhere, even where a short notice of some Judges is given, as x. 1-4, xii. 8-15, the historical method and treatment are quite different from iii. 31.

² For Deborah's time is in iv. 1 immediately connected with Ehud's death in iii. 30, exactly like viii. 33, x. 1; so that

from whatever side we regard it, Shamgar appears to be interpolated.

³ He certainly cannot be identical with the woman named by Deborah in ver. 24; since he is placed by Deborah in earlier times, while she was Deborah's contemporary, a woman of a nomad race, and anything but a Judge.

and then the Book of Samson, again widely different, which evidently originally embodied a complete cycle of peculiar traditions. We may safely say that all parts of the country contributed, from their ancient deeds and their special literature, to the formation of this Book of the Twelve Judges. Its first compiler, certainly a Judean, felt himself bound to name one Judge of that tribe, and found none but Othniel. And that period of separation and dismemberment is faithfully mirrored in this book devoted to it, in which the histories of single regions or individual heroes, into which in the absence of any real unity the national history is broken up, are but slightly and outwardly connected, not fused into a compact whole, as was possible in the history of Moses or of David.

But of the Twelve Judges, whom an early compiler took pains to muster in a compact series, we see that several were afterwards remembered only in the most general way. Of five—Tola and Jair x. 1-4, Ibzan,¹ Elon and Abdon xii. 8-15—our knowledge from the present book is very slight; and though the last author may have still further abbreviated or even transposed—as in the case of Abdon, who according to p. 136 is elsewhere placed between Gideon and Jephthah, but stands in the present Book of Judges after the latter—he can hardly have altered much, as he found the round number twelve and the chronology already fixed. And the fact that those Judges of whom very little is related seem in the present series intentionally placed together, and pushed down to near the end, enables us to estimate what a very faint remembrance must have been preserved of them. In like manner, the chronology under some of the Judges approves itself as an accurate recollection; as when Jephthah is said to have ruled six years, Ibzan seven, Elon ten, Abdon eight; even the twenty-three years of Tola's rule, and the twenty-two of Jair's might be added to this list. But the other numbers appear at the first glance to be merely round estimates. Eighteen years is the duration both of Moab's and of Ammon's ascendancy;² eight years that of the more distant Arameans, and seven that of the equally remote Midianites;³ the land has eighty years' peace after Ehud's victory, forty after Deborah's and after Gideon's;⁴ the supremacy of the Canaanites lasts twenty years, that of the Philistines, forty; and during

¹ The LXX pronounce this 'Αβαισάν, Heshbon, mentioned p. 205, is found in which is אֶבְזַן; Clem. Alex. 'Αβαρθαν; Judith v. 15 as 'Ερεβών.
Eusebius 'Ερεβών, even 'Εσβών in Theophilus *ad Autolyc.* iii. 24; while the city

² Judg. iii. 14, x. 8.

³ Ibid. iii. 8, vi. 1.

⁴ Ibid. iii. 30, v. 31, viii. 28.

twenty of these forty years, Samson is Judge.¹ These are almost all the chronological data which the book affords.

Now it is very plain that those who at the time when the present series of twelve was arranged, were still known as the greatest among these rulers, must have actually lived in the order in which they are arranged. Deborah in her song, ver. 6, alludes to earlier Judges between the time of Moses and herself; Gideon with his sons belongs evidently to a period in many respects further developed than that of Deborah—an epoch of full bloom, beyond which everything was always falling into confusion; Jephthah is in the very midst of this increasing confusion; Samson contends against it, but only as an individual—with giant strength, but in vain. So far, therefore, the succession of these heroes is historical. But with regard to the others, whose remembrance had already almost died out, it is obvious that their present order is not strictly accurate. They are all crowded together around Jephthah at the end of the series;² and they seem to be arranged among themselves conventionally according to tribes. Thus the two from Zebulon are placed together;³ and if Abdon,⁴ according to the indication just noticed (p. 136), stood originally before Jephthah and second after Gideon, the representatives of Ephraim go in pairs, as well as those of Gilead; and the series would only then pass to Zebulon, the most northern tribe. Finally, nothing is told of any of them but their descent and their dwelling and burial-place, and of three their numerous offspring. And so it might happen, that the only one of the five (except Abdon) who is again mentioned, Jair of Gilead, is in this arrangement placed immediately before Jephthah, although shown by indications which will be pointed out presently, to have belonged to the first third, or even the first quarter, of the period.

2. It follows from all this that we cannot employ the dates respecting this entire period given in the Book of Judges ch. iii–xvi. for a continuous chronology; or rather that the last author himself did not design that they should be so employed. For when he represents the people, after the death of a great hero, as falling again into sin, then subjugated, and then delivered by a succeeding hero, he gives the duration of the subjugation, and of the repose which followed victory, but not that

¹ Judges iv. 3, xiii. 1, xv. 20. That these twenty years in xv. 20 (repeated xvi. 31) ought to be included in the forty mentioned in xiii. 1. is clearly marked by the addition בִּימֵי פְּלִשְׁתִּים; comp. viii. 28. But what here becomes evident on close inves-

tigation, may have originally occurred in many other similar cases.

² Judges x. 1–4, xii. 8–15.

³ Ibid. xii. 8–12.

⁴ Ibid. xii. 13–15.

of the interval preceding the subjugation; for it cannot be meant that the subjugation always followed immediately upon the ruler's death. On reckoning together all the successive dates, we should obtain a result of 390 years¹ from Cushan-Rishathaim to the death of Samson; but the deceptive character of such a computation is self-evident. If therefore we wish to draw up some more definite chronology, we must both look around for other testimony, and examine carefully the various forms which the dates in the Book of Judges, from the causes above stated, may have assumed.

Now here we come across the statement in 1 Kings vi. 1, that 480 years elapsed from the Exodus to the foundation of the Temple in the fourth year of Solomon's reign. But for this statement, we should find in the Old Testament no general determination whatever of the whole period from Moses to the building of the Temple. This statement, however, approves itself as perfectly accurate, whether we look to the sources whence it is apparently derived (i. p. 76), or compare it with all other landmarks of history and chronology among the Hebrews and other nations. How admirably it adapts itself to the early history, has been already shown in i. pp. 392, 401 sqq.; how exactly it fits into the well-ascertained chronology of later times, will appear from the life of Solomon.² But it has been already proved (i. p. 204 sqq.), that during these centuries there existed in Israel a continuous chronology which was reckoned from the Exodus, the deliverance of the nation. We need not assume that this chronology was commenced immediately in the first moment of liberation; it is more probable that the forty years of the desert and the period of the first conquest of Canaan were already passed, before the chronology, like so many other things (p. 31 sqq.), was arranged, beginning from the first year of the Exodus; for Israel then felt too proud to conform its chronology to that of any foreign people, Egyptians, Phenicians, or Babylonians. But as apparently this sacerdotal chronology was not then used in common life, and as (according to i. p. 133 sqq.) historiography separated more and more into the popular and the sacerdotal, it is not surprising that the events of the times after Moses and Joshua are often

¹ 370 in Lactantius *Institut.* iv. 5, by a slip of the pen.

² This number has been again rejected in modern times, especially by Clinton in his *Fasti Hellenici* i. p. 313. But his whole treatise, 'Scripture Chronology,' rests upon the assumption, now recognised as untenable, of the literal accuracy

of Scripture; and yet he is here compelled by a chronological statement in the New Testament to reject one found in the Old! On equally superficial grounds P. J. Junker (in his *Forschungen über die Geschichte des Alterthumes*, Leipzig, 1863) rejects the number 480. See also the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. p. 260.

related without the constraint of this continuous chronology, and with only more general notices of time; the years of the Judges being specified when the deeds of those heroes were the principal subject (so in Judges iii-xvi), and single events being defined by the time of some High Priest, or other such general indications.

As the rule of the Judges was neither unbroken nor legally recognised throughout the whole country, the priests naturally attended but little to the years of an individual's rule, so long as he still lived. But when the entire period was past, and men began to desire a distinct retrospect of its more important points, they doubtless grouped together the twelve Judges who form the nucleus of the existing book (p. 136), with such brief notices of them as we still find with regard to five of the number (p. 139); giving the length of rule as far as remembrance was possible in each individual case. Another independent object must have been combined with this: to connect in some broad, intelligible scheme the many successive wars and victories of those 480 years. Looking back at the expiration of the 480 years on their many vicissitudes, it might seem fitting to divide the whole into twelve equal parts of forty years each. That the number forty is among certain nations a round number, is easily said; but even every round number must have had in the beginning a real meaning, and therefore a limited application. In this case approximate numbers may have existed for some of the twelve periods. For the forty years' sojourn of Israel in the desert was certainly a very ancient belief. David had reigned rather longer than forty years,¹ but the surplus might be easily dispensed with. But the division of the whole time till the death of David into twelve times forty years, was probably suggested by the number 480 itself, the accepted basis of the calculation; it being then easy to assume twelve generations, of forty years each.² Thus to every forty years a great hero and

¹ Forty years and a half, according to 2 Sam. v. 4 sq.; though in 1 Kings ii. 11 the half year is omitted for the sake of brevity. The notorious assumption that Saul, David, and Solomon each reigned forty years is found on investigation to be as baseless as that which reveals still grosser ignorance, that Saul, David, and Solomon, were significant names.

² The chronology was no doubt variously reckoned: e.g. from Samuel up to Levi exactly twenty generations, and therefore up to Moses about ten or twelve, were counted in 1 Chron. v. 7-13, comp. vv. 18-23; whereas from Judah to David only ten, and

from Moses to David only five generations are reckoned in Ruth iv. 18-22, 1 Chron. ii. 10-13, comp. with Num. i. 7. But in the High Priest's family they really counted from Ahimaaz the son of Zadok, who was High Priest under David, twelve generations back to Aaron, 1 Chron. v. 29-35, which nearly (though not exactly) tallies. It was therefore possible that twelve such High Priests should pretty nearly correspond to these twelve cycles of forty years; and that several narrators did actually carry out this idea, is evident from the statements of Clem. Alex. *Stromata* i. 21, where Ὁμοῖς (ὅμοις) ὁ τοῦ Ἀβιηζου (the

an important event appear to have been assigned, perhaps thus : 1) Moses and the desert. 2) Joshua and the prosperous rule of the elders.¹ 3) The war with Chushan-rishathaim, and Othniel. 4) The Moabites and Ehud. 5) The Arameans and Jair.² 6) The Canaanites under Jabin, and Deborah. 7) The Midianites and Gideon. 8) Tola, of whose adversaries we are now ignorant. 9) The Ammonites and the Philistines, or Jephthah and Samson.³ 10) The Philistines and Eli. 11) Samuel and Saul.⁴ 12) David. Without some such hypothesis, the origin of the leading numbers given, both in Judges iii-xvi, and in reference to Eli, and to Samuel and Saul, is inexplicable. For at some one definite time the beginning must have been made of resolving all these periods into forties, as the fundamental number.⁵ Moreover Jephthah says, what quite accords with this, that 300 years had elapsed from the occupation of the districts between Moab and Ammon in the last year of Moses' life, to his own time.⁶ It is easy to understand that within every forty years, smaller numbers, as 20, 18, 22, &c., might be admitted for particular events. Finally, as we have a right to assume, the twelve Judges from Othniel to Samson must have been connected with this different mode of reckoning; and many changes must have been gone through, before the numbers and the series of Judges assumed the form in which the last author but one put

patronymic is wanting; the pronunciation אֶלְיָשִׁי, though conceivable, is incorrect according to the laws for forming Hebrew names, for אֶלְיָשִׁי is quite correctly made a contemporary of Deborah; see on Judg. xviii. 30 and xx. 28, p. 85 note. Yet Josephus *Ant.* xx. 10 reckons thirteen High Priests for the entire period, without naming them.

¹ As according to p. 26 note, not forty but only about twenty-five years are ascribed to Joshua, it might be assumed that the 'Elders' ruled for the rest of the forty years. In the existing narrative of Judges ii. 7-10 (*Josh.* xxiv. 31), the number of these years is omitted; in Josephus *Ant.* vi. 5. 4, and Georgius Syncellus *Chron.* i. p. 284, the 'Anarchy,' i.e. the interval between Joshua and the Judges, lasts eighteen years. Africanus assigned even thirty years to the Elders, according to Eusebius *Præp. Evang.* x. 10, *Chron.* i. p. 157; originally the number was probably fixed at fifteen years only. Othniel (Ὀθωνίηλ in the LXX.), according to all traditions, marks the succeeding generation.

² That the eighty years in Judges iii. 30 are formed from twice forty is clear from the context; and as we see from p. 73 sq., 137, Jair may very well be removed

to this period; that he gained his cities by victories over the Arameans, follows from what has been said at p. 73 sq. According to Judges x. 5, his grave continued to be shown at Kamon; which, by the description in Polybius *Hist.* v. 70, was not far from Pella, and consequently on the further side of the northern Jordan.

³ It follows from Judges x. 7, that according to the original meaning of the arrangement these two should be contemporaries; therefore the number in xiii. 1 must be derived from a fresh source, the Book of Samson.

⁴ That these two should in all probability occupy a period of forty years, will be shown afterwards, in treating of Saul; on Eli see 1 Sam. iv. 18.

⁵ Such numbers as the three years until the beginning of Abimelech's overthrow in Judges ix. 22, are of a very different description and colouring, and are derived unquestionably from very ancient authorities.

⁶ Judges xi. 26. But the converse opinion that the number 480 in 1 Kings vi. 1 was attained merely by an artificial calculation of twelve generations, I consider incorrect, because the number would then be 484, and because there is on sufficient basis for any such hypothesis.

them together, obviously from manifold authorities, in the passage Judges iii-xvi.

Thus the two calculations, when the one has been traced to its origin, are found not to differ near so widely as might at first sight appear; and we have only to regret that so few books have been preserved to us out of the former wealth of historical works, and that we are therefore in many cases thrown back on internal evidence.

3. But after the Grecian period the readers of the now sacred books, perceiving the apparent contradictions between the statement in 1 Kings vi. 1 and most of the other accounts,¹ and wanting a clue to the right solution, were led, by the then prevalent desire for definite views on every point, into manifold errors; which, with the freedom assumed then and even till the second century after Christ, they had little hesitation in transferring to the text itself. Similar phenomena reappear with regard to many of the Old Testament dates, as has already been shown at i. pp. 276, 400 sqq. As some of these hypotheses have acquired historical importance, we must here add a brief explanation.

Even the LXX. made some alterations. In 1 Kings vi. 1 they read 440 years for 480, probably from some peculiar mode of computation of all ancient numbers; like Josephus when he assigns to Solomon eighty years instead of forty.² In like manner in Josh. v. 6 (Cod. Vat.) they alter the forty years in the desert into forty-two; evidently from taking the threat of forty years' abode therein Num. xiv, which strictly speaking is certainly assigned to the second year of the Exodus, to mean literally that the full forty years were then to follow.

Very different was the method pursued by the learned men of that school which Josephus and others followed; they accepted the separate numbers in the Book of Judges as a standard. Josephus, never a good chronologer, reckoned 592 years³ instead of the 480; and this number comes out if we add to the 390 spoken of at p. 140, the twenty years of Samson (p. 139), and

¹ This is all that can be said, for as appears on the surface, Jephthah ought to have spoken in Judges xi. 26 not of 300, but of more than 350 years.

² Josephus *Ant.* viii. 7. 8.

³ *Ibid.* viii. 3. 1; also x. 8. 5; but comp. the statements in vii. 3. 2; xi. 4. 8; and ix. 14. 1. On the other hand, in *Ant.* xx. 10, and *Against Apion* ii. 2, he reckons for this same period 612 years; which is certainly more correct according

to his own views; for he assigns to the Elders after Joshua, though only incidentally (*Ant.* vi. 5. 4), eighteen years, which he here forgets to reckon; and to Saul, according to another reading, he gave twenty-two years. If we add to this the twenty years named in 1 Sam. vii. 2, the total amounts to 632 years! and some actually reckoned so many. Theophilus *ad Autolyc.* iii. 21 allows 566 years; but comp. ch. 24.

then the forty years of Eli, thus obtaining 450 years as the period of the Judges up to Samuel;¹ and if to these 450 we then add the forty of the Desert, twenty-six of Joshua, twelve of Samuel, twenty of Saul,² forty of David, and four of Solomon to the building of the Temple; making altogether 142 years more.

The great reputation enjoyed by Josephus long turned the scale among many, both Jews and Christians, in favour of this ill-grounded number 592; and the Exodus was consequently pushed back to somewhere about the middle of the 18th Egyptian dynasty. But no unanimous opinion ever prevailed on the subject. The survey of the whole period which is given by Clemens Alexandrinus with some remarkable variations from the ordinary accounts,³ shows that at that time the interval between Moses and Solomon was estimated by some at 450 years, by others at 543 years 7 months. Africanus reckoned even 744 years from the Exodus to the building of the Temple. Eusebius, who disapproves of this, and wrote a long treatise on the question, computed the years given by the addition of all the numbers at exactly 600; but he considers this number too high, because only five generations are reckoned between Moses and David, and therefore approves the 480 years given in 1 Kings vi. 1. Yet he harmonises the two computations by reckoning in all the years of foreign rule with those of the Judges.⁴ These years however together are only 111, not 120 or 112. This led a scholar in modern times to suggest the converse idea, that the author of the Books of Kings purposely deducted the 111

¹ Up to this point the calculation in Acts xiii. 20 is in entire accordance with this. Its deviation commences with Saul, to whom it ascribes forty years, which view however is manifestly more antique if we consider it to include Samuel's years.

² Josephus *Ant.* v. 1. 29; vi. 13. 5; xiv. 9. In the ordinary text twenty-five years are ascribed to Joshua, and twenty-two to Saul; the ancient various readings, twenty-six and twenty, have already been pointed out by Haverkamp.

³ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21. He omits Jair, puts *Boleas*, evidently by a slip of the pen, for *Θαλέας* or Tola, but singularly names him *υἱὸς Βηθάν υἱοῦ Χαββάν*, quite different from Judges x. 1; *Ἐβρών* for *Ἀβδών*, *Ἐγγάμ* for *Αλάμ* LXX. *Ἰλλῆ* are probably only slips of the pen; Eusebius *Præp. Ev.* x. 9. also has *Labdon* for Abdon. Several errors in the numbers also occur there. But yet one would be glad to know the origin of some of these variations.

⁴ Eusebius *Chron. Arm.* i. p. 156-170

ed. Venet.; comp. Georgius Syncellus *Chronogr.* i. p. 333 ed. Bonn., who deliberately rejected the good foundation laid by Eusebius. Eusebius, however, does certainly make out the 480 years capriciously, entirely omitting the Judge Elon, together with Abassan (which had been done by some even in Clement's time), and allowing only twenty years for the time of the Philistine oppression, together with Samson. The statements of later writers, of the Fathers and other Christians, as well as of the Moslim (comp. Hamza's *Annals* p. 85 sqq., Tabari i. p. 6 sqq. Dub., Abulfāda's *Ann. Antisl.* p. 34 sq., Jeleleddin's *Hist. of Jerusalem*, trans. by Reynolds, London, 1836, p. 41 sq.), have no independent value. Some modern attempts to alter the number 480 may be found in Perizonii *Orig. Egypt.* p. 277, and in the *Zeits. d. Deut. Morg. Ges.* iii. p. 87 sqq. According to the very meagre and corrupt accounts in the *Chron. Samarit.* xxxix. sq., only 260 elapsed from the beginning of Joshua to Samson's death.

years of foreign rule from the 592 years of Josephus, in order to efface the memory of the disgrace. But we cannot consider such conjectures otherwise than wrong in principle, because they start from the possibility of harmonising two entirely opposite modes of reckoning.

III. HISTORY OF THE JUDGES.

1. THE FIRST JUDGES, TO DEBORAH.

The first Judges show most plainly from what sudden internal excitement in a time of strong pressure their irresistible strength issued. The two of whom we now know most, Ehud and Deborah, are by unequivocal signs recognised as prophets as well, and may in this respect be even remotely compared to Moses.

Ehud's¹ deed is as vividly narrated as if it had never passed through the process of tradition.² Even the account of the Moabite king Eglon rising in reverence, notwithstanding his corpulency, when Ehud announces to him a 'word of God,' need not stagger any one who reflects that the earlier the age, the more profound is the reverence for the Oracle, and the more implicit the belief in its truth. In fact, we can best compare Ehud to an African Marabout of the present day: to him as a holy man, trusted by his own people and respected by the enemy, is entrusted the office of bearing the yearly tribute to the Moabites. Yet he is a Benjamite, expert in the use of the left hand,³ equalled by few in arms and in stratagem. If he must undertake the unwelcome business of delivering the tribute, not in vain will he look the national enemy in the face. Silently he nerves himself for the daring deed; and circumstances favour the boldest resolve. The Moabite king, after a victory over Israel, had occupied the fortress of Jericho the City of Palms, which had been deserted since Joshua's time, and had thus gained a firm footing in Canaan, sufficient to extort tribute from the neighbouring districts; and the tribe of Benjamin, in whose territory Jericho was situated,⁴ had naturally the most to contribute. But there was greater freedom of action in the

¹ According to the LXX. 'Aδδ.

² Judges iii. 13-30; the passage is undoubtedly retained unaltered from an earlier work, as is the case with Judges xvii-xxi; see i. p. 151 sq.

³ Ehud was in this respect, according to p. 54, little more than every genuine ancient Benjamite; he was what the

Hindus would call a *Savjāsācin* (Mahā-Bhār. Nivātakavacabadha iv. 15, Bhag. Gītā xi. 33), a Roman *Scævola*.

⁴ According to Josh. xviii. 21; but Gilgal, being not enumerated in Josh. xviii, would appear to have belonged to Ephraim as a sacred city.

mountain-region further north towards Ephraim,¹ where even the extreme frontier-outpost of the Moabites was apparently not far distant, being near the Sanctuary of Gilgal.² Now, if the oppressed people were to descend victorious from those mountains, and preoccupy the neighbouring ford of the Jordan (p. 18), the whole hostile army might easily be destroyed without a chance of escape. Ehud therefore, after delivering the tribute, and finding all safe at this frontier-post on his return thither with the porters, returns alone with a sword concealed on his right side, and requests a private interview with the Moabite, as if he had some secret intelligence to communicate. Then, when alone with him in the cool apartment on the house-top, he announces an oracle, which the king rises to receive. Hereupon he plunges the sword (which he draws with his left hand) with such force into the corpulent body of the king, that even the hilt enters the flesh. Then, rushing out into the gallery which runs round the roof,³ and barring the door, that any one who comes may be long kept in ignorance of the king's condition, he escapes to the mountains, summons and leads the men of Ephraim to the place, where 10,000 Moabites fall, and the land on the west of the Jordan is liberated, and long remains free.

Of Shamgar (p. 89) tradition tells, that—like a precursor of Samson—he slew 600 men at once with an ox-goad, and in nearly the same region which afterwards witnessed the feats of Samson, and where the tribe of Dan had very early a sharp conflict to wage, partly with Canaanites and partly with Philistines; p. 61 sq. But we unfortunately know no particulars whatever of the state of the Philistines in such early times; so that this detached notice is especially obscure.⁴

Deborah indeed, in the exultation of the great victory of her time, speaks somewhat scornfully of her immediate predecessors, saying that under their rule the Canaanites ranged freely in search of spoil,⁵ made the ways unsafe and deserted, and

¹ Under the special designation *ha-Seirah*, Judges iii. 26: an arm which, according to Josh. xv. 10, stretched as far as the northern point of Judah.

² On the stone images at Gilgal, here named, see p. 18. That the frontier guard was stationed there, is certainly only to be gathered from the context; see also p. 16 sqq.

³ In my *Krit. Gram.* p. 519, I gave the only valid explanation of ver. 22, name'y, that פֶּרֶשְׁתִּין (whatever interpretation be given to the root) must be identical with

פֶּרֶשְׁתִּין in ver. 23; whence necessarily follows that the words וַיֵּצֵא חֶמֶץ, ver. 22, are only a various reading or explanation to the first words of ver. 23. Both words signify, according to the context and some early translations, a gallery enclosed by the roof, comp. Ezek. xlii. 5.

⁴ That Shamgar ruled for one year, is an arbitrary assumption in Joseph. *Ant.* v. 4. 3; comp. also p. 136.

⁵ Judges v. 6 sq., compared with the last words in ver. 19 and with ver. 30.

virtually annihilated the independent government of Jahveh's once illustrious people, until she herself arose, a Mother or guide in Israel, and the people chose new leaders, sanctioned by Jahveh. And in truth the uprising to which this wonderful woman roused the people from the farthest north even to Benjamin, must have been something extraordinary, both in itself and in its consequences; to judge only by her own songs and the short narrative in Judges iv. This narrative is drawn up without reference to the song, at least so far as the book employed by the last author but one is concerned. But though it relates more in detail the events preceding the victory, it describes the persons and the circumstances connected with it, far less fully and graphically than the song. Taking the two together, we obtain the following picture of the event which destroyed for ever the Canaanite supremacy.

Deborah, wife of a certain Lapidoth, had long been renowned as a prophetess; like Barak, her fellow-conqueror, she came of the tribe Issachar,¹ but seems like him to have abandoned the level country, to avoid the armies of the Canaanite tyrant of Hazor (p. 25) and his general Sisera, which ranged there with unchecked facility. She took up her abode to the south of Bethel on the 'Mountains of Ephraim,' strictly speaking, on Benjamite ground; and judged the assembled people under a Palm-tree.² We are quite ignorant how long the people of the northern tribes were swayed by her prophetic powers, or what immediate cause finally determined her to rise against the Canaanites. Suffice it to say, the people took heart under her influence; chose new rulers;³ and when she gave the signal for attack, all were evidently strung to the right pitch, and fully prepared for the important moment. Tradition relates, that when she urged Barak, who was stationed at Kadesh in the extreme north, to advance with 10,000 men of Naphtali and Zebulon towards Mount

¹ This is perfectly clear from the song, ver. 15, where this tribe, with Deborah, Barak, and its other leaders, is contrasted with the other tribes and leaders, but at the same time specially exalted even above the others. Another Judge, also from the tribe Issachar, was settled in Ephraim, Judges x. 1 sq.

² It is remarkable that according to Gen. xxxv. 8, the 'Oak of Deborah,' Rebekah's nurse, stood likewise *below*, i.e. *south*, of Bethel; but since the existence of the ancient heroine is certain from other considerations (i. p. 293 sq.), it would seem rather as if this latter Deborah may have chosen the same sacred spot as her

abiding place, and thus have been named after her predecessor. This is the more probable, as the name Deborah originally signifies only *Guide* or *Leader* (see *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* xi. p. 205 sq.), and is thus used even by Deborah herself in her song, v. 7. Hence we perceive that the personal name of this heroic woman has been lost, in favour of the honourable appellation applied to her by the nation.

³ That this is the sense of the words in ver. 8 of the song, has been already explained in the *Dichter des A. B.* i. p. 126; and we shall probably have to content ourselves with this meaning.

Tabor with the prophetic promise of Divine assistance and victory at the river Kishon (where the victory was in fact gained), he, too cautious and hesitating, only promised to advance if she went with him. This she declared herself ready to do, but punished him by the prophetic words, that he now would forfeit the chief glory of the expedition to a woman, who would be Sisera's conqueror; and in fact it was eventually not Barak his pursuer, but the woman Jael, that slew the dreaded general.¹

Deborah's selection of Tabor for the gathering-place of the troops agrees with the fact that both she and Barak were of the tribe Issachar,² and consequently familiar with the region which was to bear so decisive a part in the destiny of the whole northern country. According to the later narrative, Deborah would seem to have gone first to Kadesh, and thence to have advanced upon Tabor with Barak and the 10,000 men of those two northern tribes, which would thus have gained the entire victory.³ But that there are great omissions here, is evident from the song; according to which, besides those two tribes, Benjamin, part of Ephraim,⁴ Manasseh, and Issachar, took their share, and the entire attacking force comprised about 40,000 men; though of these, as was to be expected from the exigency of the time, only very few, or perhaps none, were heavily armed.

Hearing of this great mustering at Mount Tabor, Sisera drew in his army (consisting, according to the later narrative, of 900 chariots of iron, and many other forces, with much baggage) into the broad plain to the south of the river Kishon and south-west of Mount Tabor. But Deborah and Barak suddenly turned and rushed down from the heights into the valley; and there, at Taanach, by the brook Megiddo, ensued a concussion, whose violence and decisive force could not be better depicted than by the figure in the song, that the stars in their courses fought against Sisera. For it might indeed well appear as if only supernal, heavenly

¹ This is the sense of the words in iv. 6-9, with which iv. 11, 17-22, must be compared, not to miss the meaning of the narrative. On this account the addition made by the LXX. in iv. 8 is unsuitable, and only derived from iv. 14 and v. 23.

² Tabor was situated in the territory of this tribe or on its borders, Josh. xix. 12. The city Daberath, mentioned here and in xxi. 28, is pretty certainly the village Deburieh on the west of Mount Tabor, *Δαβειρα* in Eus. *Onomast.* To connect this with our Deborah is, however,

pure illusion; the name of the place might be more probably connected with that of the mountain.

³ Judges iv. 14, compared with vv. 6 and 10, and v. 8. In iii. 29 (comp. vii. 3) also the narrator uses this round number.

⁴ Only those from the Mountain of Amalek, as is quite distinctly stated in v. 14; comp. xii. 15. That even these were at first only roused to action by the Benjamites, agrees with the spirit always displayed by that tribe, as well as with the site of Deborah's abode.

powers could thus put to flight one who possessed the prestige of victory, and led such vast forces to battle; and assuredly, what then impelled Israel to the desperate struggle, was again that pure, heaven-born courage, to which alone Jahveh and all heavenly powers give their support. No further particulars are given of the grand event. Its results are more easily surveyed. Sisera's army, driven north-westwards, suffered irreparable loss in the waters of the Kishon, just then at their highest. And unremitting, as if urged by some heavenly leader, was Israel's pursuit of the northward-flying remnant. As always in such cases, the stream of victorious pursuit swells as it goes, and the 'gates' of every city fly open. The city Meroz,¹ however, pusillanimously hesitates to bear part in the destruction of the flying foe, but receives instant retribution, being cursed and annihilated as if by Jahveh's own guiding angel. Sisera, with the remnant of his army, is driven in the wild career of flight to Harosheth of the Gentiles, his dwelling-place, where he kept a splendid court, but little dependent on his sovereign,² but even there he is allowed no peace. Finally he hastens alone and on foot, in more and more desperate flight north-eastwards, to near Lake Merom,³ anxious only not to be taken by Barak. At last near Kadesh he obtains shelter and protection (as he thinks) in the tent of Heber, a Kenite (p. 58) on friendly terms with his own king. But Heber's wife Jael, after confirming him in his security by various obliging services, with her own hand drives a tent-nail into his brain when sleeping. Barak, anticipated, as tradition adds, by a woman, arrives too late to put the crown to his work with his own hand. The power of the Canaanite king, the last of that race by whom the northern tribes were harassed, was soon wholly shattered; and the elevation of spirit which continued to pervade the nation, is best shown by the songs of Deborah, sung at the triumphal feast by the whole people during the distribution of the rich spoil. Thankfulness to Jahveh, merry jest or biting sarcasm, joyous

¹ This place, Judges v. 23, occurs nowhere else; unless it was really utterly destroyed at that time, we might conjecture an early mistake for מֵרֹז, which would be the same as מֵרֹזָאן, Josh. xii. 20, and with the place in Galilee also written מֵרֹזָאן *Mairun* in later Jewish writings. At any rate the attempts of John Wilson (ii. p. 89-107) to find a suitable Meroz are all most unsatisfactory. The affair here referred to in poetic language is doubtless the same which is very prosaically described in reference to Gideon in Judges

viii. 4-17. The mention of the more easterly city Endor, in Ps. lxxxiii. 10 [9] sq. is curious, but originated, no doubt, in some more detailed accounts, accessible to that poet.

² According to Judges iv. 3, xiii. 16, comp. v. 28-31. From these notices the place seems to have lain north of Mount Tabor, but south of Hazor.

³ There, according to Judges iv. 11, stood the 'Terebinths of the Marsh-dwellers.' On בַּצְעָנִים see *Jahrb. de Bibl. Wiss.* ii. p. 52 sq.

anticipations of a boundless future of happiness, preponderate in these songs over even the strongly-expressed feelings of gratified revenge.

It really needs only a close study of these two great songs, to perceive clearly what refined skill Israel had then attained, despite the long oppression of Canaanite rule, in the mechanical arts, as well as in poetry and song;¹ and how elevated was then the general tone of national life. The noblest of the captives, led in solemn procession, with the choicest articles of the spoil, were necessary to the pomp of the great triumphal feast, which was doubtless celebrated at Shiloh as soon as tranquillity was perfectly restored. But the solemnities of the day began in the morning, far from all turmoil, with a song of thanks to Jahveh as the only giver of victory to his people.² This thanksgiving-song is complete in itself and well rounded off; antique in its brevity, yet full of manifold and lucidly arranged matter; presenting amid the merriment of the day a serious survey of the whole preceding history of Israel. Not till later in the day is formed the triumphal procession of the people; music and song of a different character are heard, in which the assembled populace can bear a part, and which from the length of the procession are extended to double the usual length;³ jest also and sarcasm find their place in the great popular play. But if this second song cannot without various sly sarcasms speak of those tribes who had kept away from the war and therefore shared not this feast, the first song calls even upon them, wherever they may be, at least to join in thankful rejoicing before God for that day.⁴

To ourselves, indeed, the history of Deborah's great victory has an additional interest, as showing at first hand how infinitely more impressive was a victory in those old times, when aided by some sympathetic impulse, as it were, of inanimate nature—a storm, a hurricane, or a flood. That Israel's arm is doubly steeled, when even in the so-called elemental forces some divine energy and impulse responds, as it were, to its own courage, is a frequent occurrence in its history, even in later times. For to a nation so often and so sorely pressed from without, driven so frequently to the last extremity, and

¹ The many-coloured embroidered fabrics (Judges v. 30) were no doubt made in great quantities in Israel at that time in competition with Phœnician manufacture, and would be accounted valuable articles of booty. Respecting poetry, see p. 126 sqq.

² Judges v. 2-11, an independent song of praise.

³ Judges v. 12-31, the proper triumphal song, which is double the length.

⁴ This is the meaning of the words referring to Reuben and other tribes in Judges v. 11, compared with vv. 15-17.

compelled to think rather of defence than of attack or conquest, nothing is naturally more helpful than unusual terrors and disturbances of nature, which always injure most the prosperous and the arrogant. But for the Israel of ancient times all these things had a still deeper significance. Forbidden, as we have seen (i. p. 548 sqq.), to recognise and as it were grasp the God of Heaven in any material form, or to adore even in the heavens themselves any constant symbols of his being and his power, yet yearning the more in spirit for clearer manifestations of his invisible existence—such a purely spiritual God being scarcely dreamt of in the whole ancient world besides—its mind was ever on the stretch for any hint in nature of the unseen Celestial, for any seeming glimpse of his mysterious ways, in hurricane, earthquake, or flood. And its courage rose to a far higher pitch, when Divine encouragement and impulse seemed to give answer even from the material world: when it beheld the haughty foe assailed and annihilated by sudden floods and tempests, or fearful thunders. A quick feeling for nature in all her aspects characterises ancient Israel throughout (i. p. 575); but in this aspect it assumed a somewhat peculiar form. In Deborah's song we have the most striking example of its power; but the same feeling was earlier manifested in all the great crises of Israel's history (i. p. 493 sqq., 23 sqq.), and not unfrequently recurs even in later times.¹

2. GIDEON AND HIS SONS.

Gideon is indeed one of the heroes raised up instantaneously by Jahveh; but as the time to which he belongs had already attained a point of civilisation and development, at which the sudden evils of the national condition were more deeply felt, and the desire for a more perfect system of human government was thus becoming universal, the issue of his and his sons' government is quite different from that of the earlier judges. In a period thus inclining towards human sovereignty, Gideon was the best ruler that could be found—the noblest in character, most prompt and yet efficient in word and deed; formed for rule, yet without lust of rule; preferring renunciation, and yielding to the higher duties of religion.

In refusing, through his loyalty to that Jahveh-religion which lived within him, the royal dignity offered to him by the

¹ Among the Armenians we find more of this feeling than among any other people: see e.g. the Armenian history of Matthias of Edessa pp. 96 sq., 105, 291 of the French translation.

people, he shows and exemplifies the highest point which the mere Judge can attain, and becomes almost a real sovereign without the name or rank, and almost against his own will. But though his lofty nature enabled him to hold this position without danger, its essential incongruity reveals itself only the more sharply after his death; and the fate of his sons is melancholy in the extreme.

His own history, forming the middle portion of this period, is also its brightest side. No great Judge's exploits and achievement took such abiding hold of the popular mind, or became so proverbial, as Gideon's.¹ It is only the natural result of this historic greatness, that in the existing narrative respecting Gideon his very first appearance in the history is connected with the exercise of divine powers, as if he still belonged to an age whose heroes might be compared to the Patriarchs; and in fact the description in Judges vi. and vii. quite recalls the Patriarchal legends.

But on a closer examination of Gideon's exploits, we are at once struck by the fact that they belong to two classes, representing two widely different sides of his life. He is the great conqueror of the eastern nomads comprehended under the name of Midian; and he is also renowned, as his epithet Jerubbaal²

¹ This is shown even by Is. ix. 3 [4], x. 26. Whether 'Hierombal, priest of the God Jero' mentioned in Eus. *Præp. Evan.* i. 9, from whom Sanchoniathon of Berytus had received important communications, was identical with Gideon-Jerubbaal, is perhaps a matter of indifference, since nothing further is there said of him; but some one else must certainly be meant, if only because Gideon could not be regarded as a priest. See my treatise *Ueber die Phönikischen Ansichten von der Welterschöpfung und Sanchuniathon* p. 52.

² Whether this, however, was the original meaning of the word, is rendered doubtful by the following considerations. We find interchanged, as if synonymous with the name Jerubbaal, Jerubbesheth (not Jerubbosheth) in 2 Sam. xi. 21. Now, since *בִּישָׁת* Shame, which properly signifies only Astarte, in Hos. ix. 10, Jer. iii. 24, xi. 13, shows itself almost interchangeable with Baal, this seems at first sight a confirmation of the meaning, 'Antagonist of the Baal of the Heathen.' But it is highly improbable that Saul's son, king *אִישֵׁי-בִּישָׁת* 2 Sam. ii. sqq., whose name is interchanged with *אִישֵׁי-בִּישָׁת* in 1 Chron. viii. 38, and other prisons in Saul's house of the name *קִרְיַבְשָׁת* which we should certainly everywhere read for

מַפְיַב), which (2 Sam. xxi. 7 sqq.) is similarly exchanged for *קִרְיַב בַּעַל* in 1 Chron. ix. 40, had taken names derived from heathen deities. Baal in itself may signify any god; and with *אֱלֹהִים* 2 Sam. v. 15, is interchanged *בַּעַל־דָּוִד* 1 Chron. xiv. 7. Moreover the names of places beginning with Baal do not necessarily denote places dedicated to heathen gods; see 2 Sam. v. 20. In the same way *בִּישָׁת*, like *αἰδώς*, may have had originally a good meaning (reverence), as *בָּחַר* in Gen. xxxi. 53. Now reflecting that in those early times words may have borne a very different sense on these subjects, and also that the great struggle against the Baals did not begin till after David's time, we find it far from improbable that Jerubbaal, given as a title of honour to the great conqueror, may have originally signified only *God's Warrior*. In that case this name would have had the same fortunes as the ancient name of Israel, see i. pp. 344, 358 sq. And before the ninth or eighth century the present explanation of the name Jerubbaal cannot well have been written; but this does not make the story that Gideon opposed the Covenant-Baal necessarily unhistorical.

betokens, as the antagonist of Baal. But the Baal whom he opposes cannot, either from the description in chapter vi, or according to the possibilities of the case, be the deity of those nations which he conquers. He is unquestionably the same Phenician god whom the northern tribes adored again immediately upon his death, as the 'Covenant-Baal' (p. 114 sq.); as if only the hero's strenuous resistance had restrained them during his lifetime from worshipping him openly. Now, was the hero first Gideon or Jerubbaal? Had he, before his victories over the external enemies of the Jahveh-religion, contended so successfully against its internal foes as to win the name of 'Baal's Antagonist?' Everything leads to the conclusion, that not until after his victories over the foes without, did he acquire power to subdue also those within. This is not only the natural order of things, but is attested by all the recognisable vestiges of history. The civic league above described (p. 114 sq.), with its worship of the Covenant-Baal, may have been constituted before Gideon's victories over Midian, and have excited by its Phenician tendencies the wrath of many a noble Hebrew; but Gideon, according even to the later traditions, was of the family then least in Manasseh (we know not from what special cause), that of Abiezer,¹ and even a younger son of his house. The immediate and most powerful incitement to his enterprise against the Midianites (as is incidentally mentioned²) was the barbarous massacre of his nearest relatives on Mount Tabor, which it fell to him to avenge. But when he returned home the mighty conqueror of the Midianites, and his position was once for all firmly established among the people, he might easily lend his weight to counterbalance the power of the civic league, until his death again allowed it free scope.

However, the historical relation between the civic league and the worship of Baal in those days, seems to have been early lost sight of; and as the narrator was desirous of placing the two sides of Gideon's work in close connection from the very beginning, and regarded the resistance to Baal as the more important, as in fact the consecration of the true Champion of Jahveh, he consequently formed a peculiar conception of the hero's first entrance on his great career. That Gideon's first successes were achieved with the least adequate means, was no doubt fa-

¹ Judges vi. 15, comp. 11, 34, viii. 2; comp. also Josh. xvii. 2. As it would here seem that the family of Abiezer was formerly the first and most powerful of Manasseh, its decline is probably connected with the circumstances mentioned at p.

51 sq. The exact site of Gideon's birth-place Ophrah has not as yet been discovered. Van de Velde, indeed, finds it in Erfai near Akrabe; but this lies too far south for the ancient Manasseh.

² Judges viii. 18 sq.

miliar to the narrator as one of the most enduring traditions of his life. That in the very midst of his victorious career he gave an instance of the noblest renunciation in the spirit of the true Jahveh-religion, was equally a recognised trait in the stories about him. Accordingly the first of the three great traditional pictures of his life, the history of him as 'Baal's Antagonist,' takes the following form :¹

While the peaceful inhabitant of Ophrah in the tribe of Manasseh, from fear of the plundering Midianites, was threshing his wheat furtively in the wine-press, instead of in the open field, he feels the first whisper of the Divine call. The exhortation to become the deliverer of his people grows gradually louder and more distinct, the more honestly the lowly son of Joash expresses his doubts. While he would fain reflect and oppose, the exhortation becomes too powerful to be longer resisted, when at length by a visible sign² he sees his sacrifice accepted, and in the unknown Encourager, at the very moment of vanishing, recognises Jahveh himself. Nor is he annihilated, as from his early belief he might have dreaded, by the recognition of that immediate presence. So he erects an altar on the spot, and names it 'Jahveh is Salvation.' Unquestionably, as the narrator expressly states,³ the altar so named was still standing in his own time, and contributed to give this beautiful turn to the story. No more fitting expression could well be found of the overpowering might with which a great thought may seize and possess even him who thinks himself weak.

But the thought, once conceived, must fructify in action; and thus in a single night is conceived and executed the divinely-prompted resolve, to overthrow the altar of Baal which the whole city worshipped, to cut down the sacred grove which surrounded it, and to make use of the wood in sacrificing a bullock of the seventh year, the only one of the sort possessed by his father,⁴ upon an altar hastily erected to Jahveh on the very spot. On the following morning, all is astonishment and horror among the inhabitants of the city. They are about to punish with death the discovered violator of Baal, but are checked

¹ Judges vi. 11-32.

² An offering on the altar consumed by a gentle self-kindled fire from heaven, as Lev. ix. 24. See my *Alterthümer* p. 30 sqq.

³ Judges vi. 24.

⁴ The somewhat perplexing words of ver. 25 must in their context mean 'thy father's bull, the bull that has years, seven years;' that is, which is now not a mere bullock;

אֲנֹסוּס as אֲנֹסוּס; — like vii. 22.

On the two peculiarities of this sacrifice see my *Alterthümer*, pp. 35, 36. The tower-like heathen altar, rising like a fortress, is therefore to be desecrated and destroyed by putting the true altar in proper form (בְּמַעֲרֵכָה) on the top of it; so also the loftiest decorations of conquered temples were brought down to form the thresholds of their own.

(as the legend finely concludes) by the young man's prudent father, who (apparently in his heart approving his son's conduct) reminds them to leave to Baal himself the vindication of his own honour and the punishment of the destroyer of his altar; since immediate death would rather be merited by him who did not believe his revered Baal capable even of avenging himself. Thus Gideon received the name of Jerubbaal, in the sense 'Let Baal attack him, if he dare!' as the legend derisively adds.

The Champion of Jahveh is hereby prepared to contend in good earnest against the overpowering force of the Midianites; and this, his second great work, begins immediately. But even from the scanty notices which remain to us, we see that the struggle against Midian was a most tedious war, wide in its ramifications and varying in its fortunes, in which the whole greatness of the leader might be gloriously displayed. We find traces of at least three or four great battles against Midian, in very different localities. The first was fought in the great (Galilean) plain of Jezreel. Another is gained by the Ephraimites beyond the Jordan at the 'Raven Rock' and the 'Wolf's Coop,'¹ where the two Midianite princes Oreb and Zeeb ('Raven' and 'Wolf') are slain. This battle is brought less prominently forward in the Book of Judges because it was fought without Gideon's direct cooperation; but it is treated as very important by other narrators whom Isaiah² follows. The last successes are won by Gideon in the extreme east.³ There was further a positive recollection that Gideon began the war with few resources, and gained the first victory with the smallest number of warriors; but afterwards drew to his side the great tribe of Ephraim and all the other northern tribes. His 300 picked men accompany him throughout his whole military career; and from the fact that his own family, the Abiezrites, had to take vengeance for blood upon the Midianites, as well as from a proverbial saying⁴ incidentally quoted, we may infer that his own family formed the nucleus of these 300 men. The first victory was thus his greatest and most difficult achievement, and therefore in the existing narrative he is accompanied by the encouragement and guidance of the higher powers only until this first stage towards the accomplishment of the whole work is reached, and the path entirely smoothed for the rest.

¹ According to Judges vii. 24 sq., viii. 3.

² Is. x. 26.; of less importance is the late repetition in Ps. lxxxiii. 12 [11]. A place Z₄B is mentioned in the *Onom.* of

the Fathers; it lay fifteen Roman miles west of Ammon, the modern 'Ammân.

³ According to Judges viii. 10 sq.

⁴ Judges viii. 2.

Here however we come upon the traces of many popular legends and proverbs, which from the life of the great hero had been taken into the cycle of stories about him. The existing account¹ which ennobles and idealises all it touches, avails itself of one of these in describing Gideon's passage from the threshing-floor to the battle-field. The able commander, to fill his position worthily, must be warm and overflowing with zeal and care, even when all besides are indifferent and dry; and on the other hand he must at times maintain the greatest coolness and dryness when all other hearts are overflowing with unseasonable impatience and excitement. This once granted, it is easy to see how legend may have reported of Gideon, the great commander, that he wore on his breast a fleece, which was moist when all around was dry, and dry even when all else was moist. And if Gideon, as a general, was distinguished by this spontaneously-varying fleece, a narrator of a poetical turn might represent him before his entrance on his mission as supplicating from Jahveh the wondrous fleece, as a sign and pledge of his fitness for the arduous campaign. And so runs our existing account.²

Bearing such a fleece on his breast, he is soon surrounded by a numerous host—far too numerous, proceeds the narrative, for the Divine purpose of delivering Israel by a few, and thus showing that not strength of numbers but Jahveh is the true Deliverer. Therefore he proclaims, Divinely prompted :

Whoever fears and trembles,
Turn and depart from Gilead's Mount !³

and there returned of the people 22,000 men, and only 10,000 remained upon the hill in the great northern plain of Jezreel, which from this occurrence was called En-harod, i.e. *Well of Trembling*. But even this number is too great to be fully reliable; and the well of pure water flows close at hand, as if expressly for the ordeal. Those only are the true warriors of Jahveh, who, when an enjoyment is offered, as for instance refreshment at a living well, taste it only in passing, and while standing on the alert; not seeking enjoyment, and crouching down to it in indolent comfort, but, mindful every minute of the business in hand and the desired victory, only lapping the water like dogs upon their way. As such only 300 approved themselves at

¹ The peculiar original authority employed here by the first narrator of the history of the twelve Judges, comprises the portion from vi. 11 to viii. 27 very little altered; from viii. 29 he evidently makes

use of another.

² Judges vi. 36-40.

³ It is very easy to perceive from these rare words and their arrangement, that they embody an ancient proverbial saying,

the testing water.¹ But even this select band of 300 is to suffice, according to the Divine appointment, to begin the glorious work victoriously; and should any one of them waver, he must be reassured by any propitious augury, which Gideon can announce at the last moment before the decisive crisis. When he descends into the plain,² alone with his armour-bearer Phurah, to reconnoitre the hostile camp, and approaches it quite close in the darkness, he hears one Midianite telling as his dream, that he had seen a crust of dry barley-bread roll down into the camp, and then suddenly strike the tent with such violence that it overturned; and another Midianite expounding the dream as referring to the sword of Gideon against the camp!³ Encouraged at the last moment by these tidings, each of the consecrated band, following Gideon's example in everything, hangs round him a horn besides his regular arms, and takes in his hand a blazing torch, screening 'its light by an earthen pitcher held in the other hand; and in three bodies of 100 each (adopting an ordinary military stratagem), Gideon heading the first, all move towards the camp in the valley just as the second of the three night-watches had been changed. Arriving, they break the earthen pitchers with such a crash, disclosing at the same moment all the blazing torches, and blow the horns with such energy, that the enemies, met by the war-cry 'The sword of Jahveh and of Gideon!' can but believe that a hundred thousand are behind them. Blindly taking to flight, they rush straight onwards towards the south-east as far

the first and obvious meaning of which may have referred specially to the tribe of Manasseh. Mount Gilead, the place of Jacob's severest contests (i. p. 347), might from Patriarchal times have become a proverbial expression for a field of battle, and in this speech of Gideon's was evidently not intended to have any further meaning. But (according to p. 71 sqq.) the tribe of Manasseh had also often had special experience of Mount Gilead as a battle-field. A weaker repetition of this fine old saying is given in Deut. xx. 8.

¹ Here also undoubtedly some old proverb respecting Gideon lies at the foundation. The hero, who (as viii. 4-17 shows) with his chosen 300 dashed on to victory despite all opposition from ill-affected Israelites, and whom they willingly followed at their fullest speed, regardless of hunger and thirst, seemed to lead warriors who like dogs only lapped the water, always on the alert, ready for further pursuit and victory, never sunk in slothful enjoyment. Nothing is more absurd than

the notion that such traits were only invented by a later narrator or historian. It should also be noticed that these 300 quite remind us of David's 600; which also seems to confirm their historical character.

² As is done also by Jonathan, 1 Sam. xiv. 1 sqq., and by the Homeric heroes.

³ This again is unquestionably derived from a primitive popular legend, dating from Gideon's own lifetime. The crust of dry barley-bread, which is carried by the wind, and overturns the great tent, is the little half-famished band of Israelite peasants, borne onward by the storm-wind of inspiration to overthrow the wide-spreading but unstable band of nomad tent-dwellers. This appropriate image suggested itself naturally to the people of the time, and might at last easily take the form of a dream dreamed by some Midianite in the night before the decisive battle.

ללל is a dry crust, from ללל to rattle, crackle.

⁴ See also Aristoph. *Lys.* 1003.

as the Desert of the Jordan, on the frontier of Issachar and Ephraim,¹ pursued by the quickly-mustering northern tribes.²

As the stream of flight thus rolled towards the tribe Ephraim, and as in this territory many scattered Midianites may have previously taken up their abode, it was only a matter of course that Gideon should inform this powerful tribe of the victory, and call upon them to aid in the pursuit. Ephraim accordingly occupies all the small Wadis of the western Jordan valley as far as the ford of Beth-barah, together with the central Jordan itself, destroying by these means an uncomputed number of enemies. The same tribe also pursues the fugitives over the Jordan, where at the places 'Raven's Rock' and 'Wolf's Coop' (whose situation is now unknown to us) fall two Midianite princes, named 'Raven' and 'Wolf,' whose heads are brought to Gideon from beyond the Jordan. (Comp. p. 155.) By what cause Gideon was so long detained on the western side of the river, we have now no means of knowing; but when at length he traversed Ephraim with his sacred band of 300, to end the war, this principal tribe, arrogant from recent victory, calls him roughly to account, why he had begun the war without its previous knowledge? But the hero, as self-controlled as he was brave, smothers the smouldering fire of internal dissension by the gentleness of his wise words; representing to them that they had already achieved a greater victory than he, and that he himself makes no proud pretensions:—'Is not the gleaning of the grapes (the later-gained victory) of Ephraim better than the vintage (the first victory) of Abiezer (Gideon's insignificant family)?'—Unquestionably a genuine proverb, preserved to us from Gideon's own lips.³

When he thus crosses Jordan in full pursuit with his over-wearied 300, and begs refreshment for them from the citizens of Succoth,⁴ he is rudely refused by them (though still trembling

¹ To this conclusion we are led by the somewhat obscure mention of some small places in vii. 22, whose situation is as yet not quite clear, even if, following 1 Kings xi. 26, we read צִרְדָּה instead of צִרְדָּה. If צִרְדָּה in Josh. iii. 16 and 1 Kings iv. 12 were synonymous with this, because צִרְדָּה is in 1 Chron. iv. 17 exchanged for the latter, occurring in 1 Kings vii. 46, we should at least know that it was situated on this side exactly opposite to Succoth on the opposite; but the synonymousness of the two names by no means follows certainly from these passages. See also Robinson ii. 14, 16 sq. On a place, *Shuttah*,

to the south-east of Solam, see Wilson ii. p. 87.

² Judges vii. 1–23; consider the victories gained among other nations with very similar means: *Mujmil altawdrkh* in the *Jour. As.* 1841, ii. p. 516 sq.; also an instance given *ibid.* 1856, ii. p. 464; Platen's *Neapolitanische Geschichten* in his *Werke* p. 376; even as late as 1849 in Hungary, *Allg. Zeit.* 1849, p. 5219.

³ Judges vii. 24–viii. 3.

⁴ Even in the latest map accompanying Robinson's *Palestine*, this city is placed on the western side of the Jordan; and on his last journey (*Zeits. d. Deut. Morgenl. Ges.*, 1853, p. 69, and *Travels*, iii. 309

at the flying foe), as well as by the inhabitants of the neighbouring Penuel, with the enquiry whether Zebah and Zalmunna, the two remaining Midianite princes, are already in his hand? But vowing sharp vengeance on his return upon his heartless countrymen, he pursues his course without stopping, conquers the hostile force, which had already dwindled down from 135,000 to 15,000, and was moreover unguardedly encamped in the extreme south-east near Karkor,¹ captures the two princes on their escape from the camp, and destroys the camp itself, according to ancient custom, by the ban (i. p. 577). Returning with the two princes by an unexpected route² to Succoth, he wreaks upon the seventy-seven elders of the city the vengeance which he had threatened, having them torn to pieces³ without mercy; and destroys both fortress and men of the neighbouring Penuel. Then it is the turn of the two Midianite princes to receive their chastisement; for these untutored savages (the tradition humorously adds) had replied to Gideon's question what sort of men they were whom they had slaughtered at Tabor, as declaring only too frankly, that they entirely resembled him in their kingly stature (p. 153); and when his young son, whom he commands to strike them down, naturally shrinks from the office, instead of begging for their lives, they are so silly as to call upon him to strike them down himself; so rude and uncivilised were these still powerful princes of the desert!⁴

Here begins, in the extant narrative, the third and last period

sqq.) Robinson claims to have just discovered the remains of a *Sikkû*, south of Baisân. Yet the more intelligible passages of the Old Testament (see especially the Book of Origins in Josh. xiii. 27) point to a position on the farther side, which, being close to the Jordan and powerful from early times, had possessions on this side also; to which 1 Kings vii. 46 refers.

¹ *Karkaria* in the *Onomast.* of Eusebius; according to him a day's journey from Petra. The *Karkar* in Abulfida's *Geography* p. 246 must be a different place, as it lies too far north.

² It seems in fact that this must be the import of the words in ver. 13, מִקְּמַעְלָה הָרֹחֵם 'from above Heres hither;' the place indeed is no further mentioned, but that alone would in no way make against the hypothesis, supposing the general sense of the passage to be in its favour. On the other hand, in going thither, according to ver. 11, he took the great highway eastwards from the Nobah and Jogbehah mentioned at i. p. 629; the latter is probably

the present Jebelha north of 'Ammôn. For הָרֹחֵם ver. 12 read הָרֹחֵם.

³ We need not follow viii. 7 and the LXX. in reading נִינְשָׁם for נִינְשָׁם in viii. 16; but in this narrative, which is given throughout in somewhat popular style, it signifies, 'through them [through the bloody chastisement of the Elders] he sharpened the wits of the [other] men of Succoth.' On the other hand ver. 7 should be translated 'I make the thorns of the wilderness and the flints to tear your bodies.' (*Lehrb.* § 234 e.) We can only picture this as follows: upon an open threshing-floor, strewn with thorns, the prisoners were forced to cast themselves down, and over them were drawn flails shod with flints: a cruel mode of capital punishment, like our breaking on the wheel, but more speedy in its operation. This punishment occurs elsewhere of foreign foes: 2 Sam. viii. 2, Amos i. 3; but on this occasion domestic foes were to endure it.

⁴ Judges viii. 4-21.

of Gideon's life, his rule as a Judge; of which however very little has come down to us.¹ That out of reverence for the ancient Jahveh-religion (i. p. 569) he, who seemed born for sovereignty, in the first flush of victory, refused the proffered hereditary royalty, is a thoroughly credible account. In the northern part of the country at that time all things tended towards monarchy, as is further shown by the history of his sons; but not less clear is it that he himself never accepted any such position. He remained in his native city Ophrah, content with the respect voluntarily accorded him. There many spontaneously sought his judicial decision and his protection, and thus he exercised extensive authority. This is attested by the story of his much-sought gilded household-god,² which, doubtless only in compliance with the custom of the time, he is said to have made out of the gold taken in the spoil, which was voluntarily cast by the assembled people into a general's mantle spread out to receive it.³ Yet this god could not but become the god of all who resorted to Gideon for protection, without his being himself very greatly to blame, as things were in those times. It was at least Jahveh whom he and his followers worshipped in this image.

The greatness of this hero is still more fully manifested in the circumstances that followed his death. The statement that he had seventy sons can only be understood in the same way as similar ones with respect to three other Judges: that Jair and Ibzan had each thirty sons,⁴ Abdon forty sons and thirty grandsons;⁵ Priam in Homer also boasts of the great number of his sons. It seemed only suitable to the dignity of so great a man to have many wives; and after he had become so powerful, many fathers would of their own free-will offer him their daughters; so Mohammed in his later years took many wives, and died in fact a bridegroom. This is nothing therefore but an indication of the power and popular consideration of these Judges. What is also recorded of Ibzan, that he had thirty daughters married into other families, and thirty brought into his own house for his sons, is only meant to give a higher notion of his power, since he thus secured the adherence of sixty important families to the fortunes of his own. The merely political significance of these traditions is still more evident, when we

¹ Judges viii. 22-28.

² *Ephod*: see my *Alterthümer* p. 257.

³ *הַמִּשְׁכָּה* viii. 25. That he retained the golden neck-rings of both kings' camels, is recorded in ver. 21 (comp. ver.

26) only to indicate how very strictly he carried out the ban, in which however he was only following ancient custom.

⁴ Judges x. 4, xii. 9.

⁵ Judges xii. 14.

read that Abdon's forty sons and thirty grandsons had seventy ass's foals, and Jair's thirty sons, thirty ass's foals, for riding, besides thirty cities (p. 71 sq.). Riding upon an ass's foal, in trappings of state, indicates according to ancient Israelite custom the commander of a division, just as the pennon or the horse-tail among other nations; and with this was easily connected the play upon words between *Air* 'ass's foal' and *Ar* 'city,' as if any one thus honourably distinguished must also necessarily have a city under his command.¹ The tendency towards hereditary possession which everywhere creeps into human affairs, was here evidently making gradual way. The family of a Judge during his lifetime acquired more or less of power from his power, as is seen in the sons of Eli and of Samuel; but obviously without entailing any obligation on the people. Thus unquestionably are to be understood the seventy sons of Gideon (evidently a round number). They acquired even in their father's lifetime some share of his high consideration among the people; and seem after his death, each in his own territory, but meeting for common council at Ophrah, to have still carried on the government in the spirit of 'Baal's Antagonist.'

The rank of Judge was thus tending to become hereditary, and thus in fact a permanent monarchy, while yet the conditions of such a power were nowhere defined, and it was itself forbidden by the existing religion. This false position became patent soon after Gideon's death, in a most disastrous way. Besides the seventy sons just spoken of, Gideon, as the story runs, had one bastard named Abimelech, born of a woman of Shechem. This son regards the tempting fruit as ripe to be gathered by his hand alone; and the civic league, with Shechem at its head (p. 114 sqq.), prompted by the basest motives, falls in with his views of erecting an actual monarchy. But the right organisation of a project is something different from its mere desirability; and in the present case, this element of success was wholly wanting on both sides. Neither the citizens of Shechem nor the ignobly ambitious bastard understood what true monarchy was, and still less what it ought to be in the community of Jahveh. His kingdom had the worst possible beginning, for he slew all his 'seventy brothers' at Ophrah 'on one stone,' it is said. It is quite characteristic of the Book of the twelve Judges, that following out only one side of the considerations involved in this affair, it depicts with striking truth the inevitable results

¹ The constant recurrence here of the number seventy, or something approximate, is to be explained only by what I have remarked in my *Alterthümer*, pp. 284-6.

of a sovereignty thus begun; how Jotham, the youngest and only surviving son of Gideon, uses both parable and plain words to represent to the Shechemites their injustice, but to no purpose, for he is compelled to flee to Beer;¹ and how his words of warning are quickly fulfilled upon themselves, and upon the king of their creation, in his ignominious fall. What further bearing on the general historical development of this period is to be found here, has been already explained, p. 113 sqq.

3. THE LAST JUDGES.

We have thus seen how in the most vigorous portion of this period human sovereignty was felt to be necessary, yet was refused by the noble-minded Gideon for the sake of the Jahveh-religion, and then was no sooner attempted than disgraced by his bastard-son Abimelech. The nation now relapsed entirely into its former disorganisation; and it was indeed better that human sovereignty should be yet deferred till the men appeared who might lay its foundations aright. For it might even then be dimly felt that such a sovereignty, to stand beside the strict rule of the Jahveh-religion, must be very different from the same form of government among the heathen. The extreme difficulty of introducing it into such a community, moreover, still further delays any repetition of the first unsuccessful attempt. But all the more rapid is the progress of internal barbarism and decay, and of external weakness; and now follows the most unfortunate part of the whole so-called Period of the Judges; when the old national constitution had been proved imperfect and impotent, and yet no new vigorous organisation could be formed to supplement deficiencies and rekindle vitality in the old. Even now, since the Jahveh-religion had hitherto been the religion of Israel alone, and even among that people was but very imperfectly developed, the freedom and the power of Israel, indeed all that was great in its early constitution, must have perished,—had not the nation been still sufficiently youthful, vigorous, and healthy, to brace itself in time, though even in the extreme of peril, for a new life, and to guard the treasures so nearly lost. It is instructive to observe, in what manner and by what means the inmost heart of the people rose in strong resistance to the threatening danger.

¹ This place, mentioned without any particulars in ix. 21, seems most likely to be the ancient sanctuary, much revered even from the days of Moses himself, mentioned in Num. xxi. 16-18, and more fully spoken of at i. pp. 626 sq., 632. This is probable from the name, and because the distance was sufficiently great, and because the migrations of the tribe of Manasseh were always across the Jordan

Literature also and the power of song rose up against it; we can clearly discern this by a few tokens, even from those distant times. In a profound feeling of the evils of the time, a poet arises, who finds at least in the memory of Jacob their common ancestor a firm basis for a true national unity, comprehending all the tribes; and pronounces with the Patriarch's hallowed voice and in his spirit fitting words of admonition or rebuke, of praise or encouragement, to the respective tribes. Such is the 'Blessing of Jacob,'¹ a poem in its way of incomparable beauty, singularly appropriate, and no doubt most effectual for its purpose. And all that could be done by a historian, in retrospect of the past and anticipation of the future, to animate and cheer the people, was done by the author of the Book of Covenants (see i. p. 69 sqq.). But there is every reason to believe that it was the same author, who with this special view reproduced the early history of his nation, and incorporated in his great work the Blessing of Jacob modified to suit the spirit of the times.

But authors and poets alone could not save their country then, nor ever, against such a weight of circumstances; and accordingly we soon find other forces enlisted. In the absence of all external help the resisting power of a few of the strongest spirits at first retreats within, and waits to strike a convulsive unexpected blow in the real world of life and action, and deliver the people of Israel, sorely endangered by foes constantly advancing in power and number.

Then appears a new power of the age, the binding Vow—a spasmodic impulse, dangerous to many, yet in the greatest emergencies of life indispensable; bracing up the deepest energies, and working the greatest marvels; often renovating, or else entirely transforming whole nations and religions; assuming a thousand forms, and in all, while the first vitality endures, exercising an indomitable power. What Rome witnessed in the time of the Decii, what has been so often repeated in the Christian church (to say nothing of the beginnings of Buddhism, and similar scattered manifestations in Brahmanism), this same power we find marvellously active in Israel even thus early. We see it working first in individual cases, then seizing upon ever larger multitudes; simple and artless in the beginning, then gradually matured and methodised; proceeding at first from the vague, immeasurable yearning of the great commonalty, then allying itself with the highest dignities of the state. Thus

¹ Gen. xlix.; see i. pp. 69-72, 296 and 409 sqq.

arises a new movement in Israel, which steadily gathers strength and becomes more irresistible, though at first aiming singly to free itself by force from the many dangers which assail the Jahveh-religion within and without. Even if this movement does not succeed in producing what we have shown to be Israel's one great want, yet the whole people is transformed by it to so new a life that the need can be at last more easily understood and more certainly supplied. For the full splendour of David's time was but the culminating point of this wondrous movement. But for the previous glorious days of Moses and Joshua those times could never have been ; but once in being, and attaining their climax, they restored for a long time a glory similar to that of the Mosaic age.

The Judges born from the people, who now succeed, show the dawning of this new life, as prototypes of their age, whose light had been preserved brightest in memory. Jephthah is the prototype of the simple, Samson of the more complex vow. But in both alike it becomes evident that even in this form the Judgeship can no longer work out the abiding welfare of the whole people. The Judgeship as it has hitherto been, a power springing from the people itself, is now exhausted and incapable of further service. Whether it can ally itself to any good purpose with the other high powers yet remaining among the people, will be seen in Eli and Samuel.

1) *Jephthah and Samson.*

a.) *Jephthah, the Hero of Gilead.*

This Hero of the Vow shows nothing more clearly, in both the beginning and the end of his victorious career, than the immense strides with which barbarism has advanced since the days of Gideon. To be sure, Jephthah is properly the hero of the land beyond the Jordan only ; but even when his history touches upon the country on this side, we find it almost as much barbarised as that beyond.

When called by the special necessities of the time to work out a higher destiny, Jephthah was the leader of a band of freebooters which infested the land of Tob beyond the Jordan. Of such bands, on both sides of the river, the age was prolific (p. 130 sq.). He evidently took this position not entirely from choice, but rather as a victim to the barbarism of the times ; because, as the legend relates, 'his brethren had driven him out of his father's house, as the son of a harlot.' But in calling him

the son of Gilead, the legend can hardly have meant that any one man bearing this name was his father; but he was in fact a foundling belonging to the whole land, as is clear from other traces.¹

When the Ammonites became all-powerful, first beyond the river and then on this side also (p. 108 sq.), and the inhabitants of the land beyond, driven to desperation, sought some protection against them, their Elders turned their eyes upon the disowned son of their country, who as leader of his freebooters, something like David before he became king, must have won a name for himself by raids against the Ammonites and other races dwelling still deeper in the desert. After a few hard words, he does not wholly reject their entreaties; but obtains their promise to acknowledge him after the victory as their prince and head. The times are indeed changed, when such a condition can be stipulated and accepted even as a preliminary. It would appear from the extant narrative, that the Ammonites had already laid siege to Mizpeh,² the renowned old capital of the land beyond the Jordan. By the mere appearance of his dreaded freebooters Jephthah seems really to have gained some breathing-space for the oppressed country and freed the capital; for in Mizpeh 'he now speaks his words before Jahveh;' i.e. in the holy place he promises protection to the people, and receives in return a sort of homage.³ He thereupon attempts, though in vain, to win Ephraim to an alliance against their common foe,⁴ and treats with the Ammonite king coolly and on terms of equality.

This preliminary negotiation⁵ is the same as that observed by a Roman general on the point of commencing hostilities, in

¹ For according to xi. 7 Jephthah reproaches all his elder brothers with hatred towards himself, and with driving him from his father's house; and Gilead, at that period, is always in the first instance the name of the country. For a very similar history among the Ionians see Nicolaus Damascenus in C. Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* iii. p. 387.

² Comp. i. p. 347; by Hosea vi. 8, xii. 12, this city is also called Gilead, from the district. According to this, perhaps we should read גִּלְעָד in Judges xii. 7, since the notices of the burial-places of the Judges are so carefully given from Gideon downwards; though certainly elsewhere in chapters x-xii. the city is always called Mizpah, or according to xi. 29 Mizpeh, which would be a more

correct punctuation throughout. Abulfida calls the Judges Jair and Jephthah simply men of *Gerasa*, as being more intelligible in the Greek period.

³ The concluding words of the first division of the story of this hero, x. 17-xi. 11, admit of no other meaning; and during the following war his house is always conceived as being quite within Mizpeh, xi. 34.

⁴ This is to be inferred from the later words, Judges xii. 2 sq. These words might indeed be interpreted as merely spoken by Jephthah as Prince in the first person, in the name of the country. In this case it would be the Elders who had tried this unsuccessful step, probably before they made Jephthah their chief. But this interpretation is both forced and unnecessary.

⁵ Judges xi. 12-28

despatching the Fetiales into the enemy's territory. The controversy on the boundaries of the respective nations, on which the negotiation turns, has been already treated of, i. 627, ii. 108 sq.

When the negotiations opened by Jephthah are broken off by the Ammonite king refusing to listen to the reasonable proposition that he should retire within his original boundaries, the hero is carried away as by an access of divine wrath, and sweeps through the land beyond the Jordan wherever Israelites dwelt from end to end, to kindle the torch of war and raise the population. He then defeats the Ammonites in a great battle, and takes from them twenty cities.¹ Thereupon the Ammonites, who according to one account² had penetrated even into the land on the west of the Jordan, were there also easily expelled, probably by Jephthah himself; but the Ephraimites, now at last rising up to war, and with no Gideon this time to soothe their pride as the leading tribe, advance presumptuously across the Jordan towards Zaphon,³ and would fain chastise the former freebooter for having commenced the war without them. There, however, their arrogance is so effectually checked, that 42,000 of their number are said to have fallen.⁴

But still this first great victory of Jephthah, that over Ammon, is not without the direst results to himself, the hero of a barbarised age. Even the freebooter may attain to high honours, and may become in a certain sense the benefactor of those who need his services: but where the commencement is of so equivocal a character, the end is rarely quite prosperous, and may at least leave a bitter aftertaste. Brave and honest as is this chosen leader of the people, he has yet imbibed the wildness of his age and country. The Gileadite hero, in the fervour of his wrath against the Ammonite king and his zeal for Israel, had vowed to sacrifice to Jahveh whatever on his victorious return should first meet him from his own house. His thought was probably of a herd of cattle, or at most of slaves; not that his young daughter and only child would be the first to meet him. But on his prosperous return to Mizpeh, forth comes his daughter first from his house, leading the maidens of the city with dance and song in celebration of the

¹ 'From Aroer up to Minnith and Abel of the vineyards,' xi. 33: i.e. as in 1 Sam. vii. 14, exclusive of these cities. Aroer, however, is not the southern city in Moab, referred to at p. 67, but one much more to the north, perhaps the present 'Aireh; although the *Onomasticon* s.v. 'Apoelap is not sufficiently clear for us on this

point.

² Judges x. 9.

³ The city mentioned also Josh. xiii. 27 in the tribe of Gad.

⁴ Comp. p. 93 note 4; a similar history to that in xii. 5 sq., of *Shibboleth*, is found in the *Jour. As.* 1845, ii. p. 483.

victory. Fearfully is avenged upon the father and ruler the thoughtless vow of the soldier of a brutalised age. No Levite or other sage arises to give a different direction to his conscientious resolve; for it is evident that his contemporaries, also trained to barbarism, considered the precious sacrifice to be appointed by a higher necessity to fall for the sins of the fatherland. And when such a belief pervades even the best, the courage which shrinks not from acting or suffering in obedience to it, must be accounted greatness of soul; and equally so on both sides. Even so it is here. Not without bitter grief, yet full of resolve, and proud that she should be the sacrifice demanded by Jahveh to save her country, this worthy daughter of a hero, after bewailing her virginity for two months on the mountains among her companions, accepts the sacrificial death from the hand of her own father, who in her sacrifices all that is dearest to him.¹ From the words with which the narrative concludes, that hence arose a custom in Israel, that 'the daughters of Israel went yearly to keep a festival to the daughter of Jephthah four days long,' which sounds as if it still continued in the time of the First Narrator,² we can but conclude, that at least in the land beyond the Jordan the heroic belief must once have been very widely held, that Jephthah's daughter was probably only the chief sacrifice offered by his hand; and that even in later times, when such sacrifices were no longer offered, the belief in them, as well as in the blessedness of the old heroic age was still alive and vigorous. Jephthah, it is said, ruled only six years.

¹ We find here for the first time a striking resemblance to Greek legends. Idomeneus of Crete, familiar to us in the *Iliad*, purchased from Poseidon a prosperous homeward voyage by the vow to sacrifice to him whatever should first meet him in his own land. He was consequently obliged to sacrifice his own son; but was punished by the gods with a plague, and by his fellow-citizens with banishment. So at least (for Homer is silent on this point) says Servius on Virg. *Æn.* iii. 121, xi. 264. Better known is the legend of Iphigeneia; and an affinity might even be imagined among the three names, Iphi, Idomeneus, and Jephthah. To this must be added the analogies which are to some extent unquestionable, between the next Judge Samson and Hercules. Nor can we deny either that such legends did pass

from one nation to another, or that the Greeks received many from Asia. But on which side the origination of these stories lies, cannot be doubtful. That in Samson's life many traits were introduced from a sphere of thought foreign to the ordinary Mosaic mind, will be presently explained; but nothing can be more certain than that Jephthah and Samson were real Hebrew heroes of their age. The timid modern notion, repeated even in the most recent books (see *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* xi. p. 203), requires no further refutation. A very similar instance, which however by a sort of artifice is made to end less tragically, occurs as late as Mohammed's father. See Tabari i. p. 171, Dubeux.

² See an event of even a later age among the Samaritans, in Epiphani. *Her.* lv. 1, lxxviii. 23.

b.) *Samson, the Nazirite¹ and Judge.*

The history of Shimshon (in the Hellenistic pronunciation Sampson), as related by the only authority now accessible to us,² seems at first of so totally different a character, that even early scholars were struck by a resemblance to the pagan history of Hercules;³ and many of the moderns, sometimes upon very baseless grounds, have viewed it in a yet more singular light. To call him the Hebrew Hercules is certainly quite admissible, but is certain to introduce misapprehension, if the true Hebraic character of this singular hero be not kept clearly in view.

(i) In fact, much as Samson's history has fallen into the domain of legend, we have in his case an historic background still tolerably distinct. His constant sphere of activity is the very reduced territory of Dan, where also he was buried⁴ in the family sepulchre of his father Manoah; only twice, and then as a fugitive, according to the existing legends, does he enter the domain of Judah.⁵ Under every change of circumstances, he contends always and only against the Philistines; whom he pursues, as Hannibal the Romans, without intermission from early youth till death. The twenty years of his power⁶ belong evidently to the first period of Philistine ascendancy, when this people was the most formidable, and menaced the little tribe of Dan in particular with utter destruction. His memory is also largely affected by his character as a Nazirite. The nature of the Nazirite was quite peculiar and exceptional; and so Samson was the only Nazirite in the roll of the twelve Judges which concludes with him. And this peculiarity and distinction of his ought to be historically investigated most sharply, if we would rightly appreciate the singular memory which he left behind him.

Whether there were Nazirites before Samson, is doubtful;

¹ Not *Nazarite*; for the Heb. is נָזִיר.

² But it is alluded to as early as Jacob's Blessing, i. p. 70.

³ Even Josephus *Ant.* v. 8. 4 explains the name Σαμψών by λῃχρὸς; and in Georgius Syncellus *Chronogr.* i. p. 309 Samson is named the Hellenic Hercules. The name of Samson, it is true, does not occur elsewhere in the Old Testament; but we know too little of the ancient families of Dan to draw any conclusion from this circumstance. That it was derived from שָׁמְשׁוֹן, is conceivable; but as the

Egyptian *שמשון* is primarily con-

nected with *שָׁמַשׁ* to serve, it might originally signify the servant of God, i.e. the Nazirite. The discourse on Samson in the works of Philo edited by Aucher, ii. pp. 559-78, is mutilated at the beginning and the end. On a recent work see the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* xi. p. 251 sq.

⁴ Judges xvi. 31; to be supplemented from xiii. 25. See Tobler's *Dritte Wanderung*, p. 181 sq.

⁵ Judges xv. 8 sqq., xvi. 3.

⁶ Judges xv. 20, xvi. 31; comp. p. 160 sqq.

except Samuel, his near successor, he is the only Nazirite who has made for himself a name in history; and those whom we know of in later times,¹ may have followed the example of so great a hero. We do not by any means intend to deny that the simple rudiments of Nazirism existed long before Samson's time. Its ultimate basis is the vow, whose power and origin extend beyond the limits of history. That this vow may hold in itself almost incalculable power, and endless capabilities of extension and application, is not less evident. And it is also unquestionable, that even before the time of Samson it may have extended to total abstinence from wine and other intoxicating pleasures; for in proportion to the especial evils of such immoderation in those parts, has always been the strength and sternness of resistance to them.² But when Samson's image comes before our eyes, Nazirism had greatly overpassed its first harmless beginnings. The vow of abstinence is now taken by parents on behalf of an infant or unborn child. The child now grows up in the belief that he is a *Nazir-Elohim*, i.e. one belonging specially to God and different from ordinary mortals, so long as he preserves inviolate the external sign and pledge under which he has been nurtured—the hair, touched by none, far less shortened or injured, which was his warrant for believing himself equally inviolate and inviolable by the world, and consequently endowed with special Divine power. And finally, one thus consecrated can now adopt a single, purely historic object, such as the ever-renewed struggle against the Philistines. In all these points we find indications of a lofty and peculiar development of those mysterious powers, such as was possible only under the conditions and necessities of a particular period, in which Samson was probably the most powerful, or at least the most famous and popular hero of this class, but certainly not its only example.

And indeed it is not difficult to trace the causes which favoured the development of Nazirism at this particular time. An age like this, which allows the people to sink lower and lower, and fall more and more helplessly a prey to the ravages of foes within and without, must be stirred to its very depths, to reanimate all the occult and mysterious powers of the human spirit, or the ruin is inevitable, and the people must perish out of sheer sloth, bewilderment, and cowardice.

¹ See my *Alterthümer* p. 96 sqq.

² The regulations of Mohammed on drinking wine were scarcely anything new; and to leave the hair uncut in con-

sequence of a vow was also usual among Arabian tribes: *Hamasa*, p. 2 below, and p. 3; Korân sur. ii. 192.

Such slumbering powers are awakened and goaded into activity by very necessity. If then at the right moment, capacities before undreamed of emerge fresh from the inexhaustible depths of the spirit, then there is gained the first possibility of stout resistance to urgent danger, a hopeful beginning of successful efforts for radical improvement. Thus from the moment when the Judgeship had proved itself incapable of yielding permanent aid, powers hitherto latent in the community emerge to sight in new and unexpected energy, most strenuous, often most marvellous; allying themselves as far as might be with the already existing authority of the Judgeship, and renovating and strengthening it wherever possible. And one of the first powers to make a determined stand against prevalent evils, is the vow, whose growing ascendancy has been shortly before displayed in the case of Jephthah, p. 166. As the existing evils were aggravated to an unendurable pitch by new and fiercer assaults from external foes, so the vow itself was proportionably strengthened and artfully contrived, till it attained the very singular form of which Samson is the greatest historical example. And as so elaborate a scheme and mode of life, growing up as it did out of overpowering impulses of the age, cannot possibly have existed in one isolated case only, we must regard Samson only as one of the first or most conspicuous instances of this new manifestation. So too we shall soon see Prophecy also awaking with quite new powers, and Samuel, also a Nazirite,¹ standing forth prominently as its mightiest and most illustrious representative. Amos very properly ranks the Nazirites with the Prophets.² Different as may be their mode of action, they agree in a belief which strings up every power to its highest tension, that they are Jahveh's very own, consecrated by him to a wholly special calling.

Thus the passage about Samson in the Old Testament has the peculiar advantage of preserving to us the memory of so singular and once powerful a manifestation of the Jahveh-religion as Nazirism, so as to leave us in no uncertainty about it. And that he whom the narrative puts forward as the first, or at all events as the type, of all Nazirites, was really in his time a formidable hero and champion of his people, admits of no doubt. We can take but one view of the subject: that when the rule of the Philistines, the sorest trial to which the heavily burdened people could be subjected, was still new and powerful, and had forced at least the south-western portion of

¹ 1 Sam. i. 11.

² Amos ii. 11.

Israel to bend their necks to it without resistance,¹ he first proved his overflowing strength, seemingly given and consecrated for that end alone, in the task of humiliating them, and pledged his life on the vindication of Hebrew honour against their insolence.² From infancy he had learnt to believe that he was God's own, more than thousands of others; he had also, to the best of his ability, kept the vow to which this belief was attached. What immense power an individual might derive from this belief in the most imminent danger and in opposition to whole masses, and what power he actually displayed, is shown by Samson in a great example; which may be repeated elsewhere, though in fainter lineaments. In a state of universal depression, all must ultimately depend upon the indomitable strength which is aroused in individuals; and of what such strength is capable, when working in such a faith, is here clearly shown. His sphere of action was indeed almost limited to the little tribe of Dan; but this tribe was then the most exposed, and upon it and its resistance all eyes were necessarily turned. And if even his most marvellous displays of strength reacted on the whole but little on the people at large, still the exercise even of his solitary powers with even partial success was so much clear gain.

But conjoined with the immense power given by this faith, he possessed within himself a second gift, which it was not possible for others or even for himself personally to call forth at will; which might indeed be latent at that very time in the whole people, but displayed itself in him with a peculiar creative force; and it is only the combination of this with the former very different power that gave to his career its distinctive splendour. It is not (as is said of Hannibal) a merely hereditary hate without scruple and without affection, that urges him against the enemies of his people; on the other hand he overflows with inexhaustible joyousness in word and deed, light-heartedness under the heaviest disasters, and sportive wit that accompanies him even to the moment of his self-chosen tragic end. In a love not easily repulsed, he feels himself drawn even to the oppressors of his people, and advances frankly to meet them. And when, in his intercourse with them, the wrathful Deity within suddenly urges him to show himself the inviolable consecrated servant of Jahveh, and to let the

¹ This is confessed, as if casually, but no doubt very truly, in Judges xiv. 4, xv. 11; comp. xiii. 1.

² It is only from not having the remotest idea what is concealed under the extant scanty legends, that modern writers could possibly doubt whether Samson was really a Judge.

insolent 'uncircumcised' feel the irresistible might of his arm, even this he takes almost as a jest, as something forced upon him against his will, and the fruit of a love misunderstood and scorned. His activity against the foe is thus only called forth casually and without premeditation; it is rather a sort of teasing, a reiterated mark of mortifying humiliation; more a sign of what his strength could do in need and in earnest, than of what it does. But in fact this seeming half-heartedness of his nature not only affords testimony to the disposition of his nation, at that time scarcely capable of hatred, but in default of something better was really the best for those unhappy times. For if a nation, in the main well disposed and civilised, has long to endure such grievous wrong from a haughty foe, it is a great gain if it loses not its buoyant mood, but while nothing better is possible, prepares itself for better times, at least by the lighter exercises of wit and playful fancy, or by occasional dashing strokes, and sometimes by the successful parry of attack, and unexpected flashes, bursting out here and there, of suppressed military ardour. It is only by realising vividly the whole weight of long continued foreign rule which then pressed upon the people, that we can understand the full value in such times of those inalienable weapons, playful wit and jest; and again, in the proper place, of daring revolt against local injustice, or the heroism of individual self-sacrifice. And thus Samson, in whom all that was strongest and all that was most splendid in his age attained its climax, is the true image of his people, unsubdued in mind and body even under long continued oppression; and we feel that a nation which even under misfortune overflowed with such health and vivacity, might soon again pass from these preparatory sports and skirmishes to contests of a happier character.

But inasmuch as Samson's wit displayed itself in a form very unusual both in the Old Testament and in such early times generally—in the art of riddles and witty poetical sayings—his whole history indeed being much interwoven with picturesque incident, he recalls vividly an age when this particular art of pointed expression and striking imagery had just come to perfection. Much of this is found, both among the Greeks in *Æsop's Fables*, and among the Hindus in their celebrated *Fable-Books*; but neither of these goes back to the extreme antiquity of Samson's time, and while in both the speaking animals appear only as detached fragments of already stereotyped legends, we behold in Samson's history their living origin. That many traces show this form of narrative to have appeared elsewhere among both

the Hebrews and the Phenicians at this early time, will be shown in the history of Solomon. In Samson's case it is sufficiently striking, that one consecrated to God, whose life has a wholly different object, displays notwithstanding a mental superiority even in these sports of new and pointed thought and creative imagery.

But in Samson we behold not merely the immense power given by the belief that he is God's own, combined with a joyousness peculiar to himself in its intensity; the weakness also, which lurks close beside that artificially nurtured strength, is clearly discernible in this prototype of all the Nazirites. So long as the vow is only a sacred force constraining the soul from without, it can never have full freedom of action and development; but must rather relax in one direction the powers which in another are unnaturally strained. Samson keeps his vow of abstinence from intoxication, but is all the weaker and wilder with regard to the love of woman, as if he could here make up for the want of freedom elsewhere; and by a singular sport of chance, or rather by the secret revenge of a heart warped by the vow, his love is always excited by women of that very race which the vow urges him to combat with all the might of his arm, and on whose men the weight of his iron strength always falls at the right time. And again, the vow cannot compel him to fight at every moment of his life; and so, though the weight of his arm is fearful whenever anything occurs to remind him strongly of his vow, long intervals of relaxation and inactivity are also not impossible. Finally, he who relies on the external sign of his vow, is thereby rendered confident, and after numerous successes even foolhardy and careless; all the more terribly, therefore, will he be undeceived, when that external sign is destroyed. Thus then, even the end of this greatest of the Nazirites was mournful; and his whole powerful life only resembles a light blazing up brightly at moments and shining afar, but often dimmed, and utterly extinguished before its time—a proof that Nazirism arises only from some temporary necessity in a nation's history. Yet is this singular hero great and worthy of himself even in death. If he, the individual whose solitary life prevented him from forming around him a permanent community, could not lift from its hinges the age against which he fought like a giant, at least he so shook and loosened it, that before long weaker men with united forces were successful where Samson failed.

(ii) Now if (following the traces of the book on Samson em-
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ployed by the Last Narrator¹) we examine the form into which the remembrance of this hero had shaped itself when it was first committed to writing, we cannot but perceive from the first that the memory of no other Judge has been so far seized upon by tradition as Samson's. With this discovery another is connected, that the first writer of these Samson-legends lived evidently no less than two or three centuries after the hero, and made use of oral tradition only; for even the few short verses interwoven with the narrative are so homogeneous, that they can only partially have been perpetuated by a primitive tradition. The causes of this are not very difficult to discover. A hero in himself so singular, whose exploits were limited to the south-western districts, who effected only a partial relief, and after whose untimely end the same national sufferings long continued, would naturally not be made the subject of written history, so easily as a more successful and dazzling Judge; but partly from standing in nearer relation to the people, partly as an extraordinary phenomenon, he might be longer commemorated in popular legend. Samson must have early become a favourite popular hero, whose remembrance was held fast, if only in detached traditions of single striking points. In this respect, however, the Samson-legend, more than any other belonging to this age, has passed through all the phases of which it was intrinsically capable.

In the first place it is only one leading idea which connects together all the separate traditions; only one trait from the hero's life which has been deepest impressed upon it. Samson has become the joyous prototype of the heavily-tasked opponents of overwhelming national foes. The cheerful image of this giant was evidently long the solace of those weaker men who were overpowered in the unequal contest with the Philistines. All who heard his deeds recounted, strengthened themselves by the bold and buoyant spirit, which quailed before no superiority of the foe; which when nothing else was possible, could rise superior to brute force at least in prompt self-possession and scornful mood. And it is a fine trait of the Israelite tradition, that with all his gigantic strength this hero in external appearance is no Goliath; but opposes to Philistine rudeness only his quick and subtle wit, his brave and manly heart.

But when Samson had once become a general type, such as

¹ That the present version of Samson's life presupposes a former work, will presently appear plainly from the contents; and this is confirmed by the very peculiar

colouring of the picture and the language, which is still perceptible even in its extant form.

one of the Patriarchs in a different line (i. p. 347 sq.) might be, the circle of traditions respecting him might be easily enlarged by the admission of many floating legends—some much older, others belonging originally to quite a different connection—which in any way were capable of being linked with something already related of him. We have clear examples of both possibilities. At the thirsting hero's call, for instance, the depth of the rock, cloven as by God himself, gives forth water :¹ a legend as grand as any relating to the Patriarchs. But because the word jaw-bone (יָחִי) could easily be applied to the jutting rock, therefore, and for no other reason, this legend was tacked on to that of Samson's weapon, the jawbone of an ass. Other legends, again, such as those of the bees in the lion, of the burning foxes in the vineyard, are so general, that it is scarcely possible to say to what place or what circle they originally belonged. Finally, all the many legends that have been preserved have been fitted into careful series with artfully compacted lines, so as to form a charming poetic picture in florid language, in which the interspersed verses gleam forth like the brighter pearls in a circlet. This is even more perceptible here than with regard to the Patriarchs, because a freer action was open to the poetic imagination in giving new life to the memory of this man of the people, than would be permitted with regard to one of the revered Patriarchs. And on giving sufficient attention to all discoverable traces of the earlier narrative, such regular and well-sustained proportions come into view, as to exhibit the plan of a drama, whose action, rising gradually through five acts, finds its solution only in the last.

The impulse, which, against his own will, yet ever by a higher necessity, directs against the Philistines the flashing wit and daring deeds of the good-natured hero, is a perpetually recurring love for women in their midst. Such a love towards the race of the foreign oppressors seems at first sight dangerous and undesirable, and at last, when it kindles into passion, does indeed become its own avenger. Yet it is not essentially culpable, but may on the contrary, without human intention or calculation, subserve a Divinely-ordered combination of circumstances, whose unexpected issue puts even cavillers to shame. Thus is formed four times a relation, which is always at first favourable to the Philistines, but disastrous in the end through their own insolence and provocation of the fettered giant of the Jahveh-

¹ Judges xv. 18 sq.

religion. The action develops itself in each by triple stages; for the only exception to this in the present arrangement (xvi. 1-3) is certainly not original. But while on the first two occasions the Hebrew giant has both innocence and justice entirely on his side, on the third and fourth, in the very midst of his victories, through reckless and overweening self-confidence, his inner nature falls to a lower grade. His love turns from the wife to the mistress, and even to the traitress, whilst outwardly his strength and wit still bloom in undiminished force. Finally in the fifth act of the drama he is beguiled by her arts of his secret, his vow, his giant strength and his joyous wit. And when, in the depth of his ensuing misery, he feels again some gradual return of strength, then—full recovery of his former state being in his blinded state impossible—these returning powers serve only for one last most tremendous deed, one last fearful jest, in the overthrow of his enemies' house of rejoicing, and his own self-chosen death; wherein his own destruction inflicted on their insolence one last woeful vengeance. Thus after twelve giant deeds, from first to last, against the Philistines, the thirteenth crowns them all in the self-immolation rendered inevitable by his own guilt.

a) 'The spirit of Jahveh began to move him in the Camp of Dan' (p. 61), in the home of his parents. Of what character this exploit of the giant-child was, is passed over in the extant narrative. On his way down to Timnath (a city therefore then¹ occupied by Philistines), where he found his bride, he rent a powerful young lion as if it were a kid, having nothing whatever in his hand.² Returning to his parents, he compels them against their will a year after, to go with him to give him his Philistine bride to wife. On the way however (a most extraordinary occurrence), he finds honey in the carcase of the lion; and so he proposes this riddle to the thirty Philistine companions, who (as if in fear of his giant strength) had been bidden to the wedding-feast:

Out of the eater came forth meat,
And out of the strong came forth sweetness!

¹ A trace of the history of the period, as, at the time of the Book of Origins, the city was no longer Philistine, Josh. xix. 43.

² According to the present account in Judges xiv. 1-8, his parents were once urged by his importunities to go to give him his bride; on which journey he went aside from the road, and without their knowledge (in itself very improbable) he

rent the lion. They then again accompanied him to the wedding. But the first journey of the parents would then be hardly necessary (comp. xv. 2, where less ceremony is observed); while on the other hand the extant narrative in ver. 8 sq. would be very incomplete. The original account therefore probably had some different arrangement.

But the stupid artifice by which they win the solution from his wife¹ drives him to exclaim :

Had ye not ploughed with my heifer,
Ye had not found out my riddle !

He is overpowered with rage at their gross foul play ; the justly incensed God of the Hebrews breaks suddenly forth from within him ; and in blood he avenges his lost wager.

b) When he is tamed down again, and still full of love for the same wife, they unrightfully take her from him. He exclaims :

This time I am quits with the Philistines,
If 'tis evil I think of doing to them !—

Here however he rightly takes no bloody revenge, but drives three hundred foxes with lighted torches tied to their tails, into the luxuriant gardens and cornfields.² But when the brutal Philistines, in utterly misplaced vengeance, immediately set fire to the house of his wife and her father,³ he takes the part of these relatives, and exclaims :

If ye have done this,
Then I will be avenged on you, before ' I have done !

And he smites them on hip and thigh,⁵ with a great slaughter. But now he is compelled to take refuge in Judah, and conceals himself in a cleft of the rock Etam ;⁶ and the men of Judah, threatened by the Philistines, deliver him to them bound. Yet scarcely can they believe in such good fortune as to have him in their keeping when he breaks the strongest bands, and slays 1,000 men with the jawbone of an ass which he has snatched up, crying out—

¹ The numbers in xiv. 14, 15, 17 are somewhat confused ; another sign that the present is not the original state of the text.

² וְעַד כֶּרֶם זֵית, xv. 5 ; 'to the vineyard, the olive-tree,' is an abbreviated form of enumeration, as in Micah vii. 12 ; so it is taken even by R. Tanchum. See likewise the description of fire in a forest being spread by the tails of cattle, in *Méghadûta* liv. 4 ; how Hannibal drove forth the oxen with firebrands attached to their horns, *Livy* xxii. 16 sq. ; and how the Greeks also knew the custom of sending lighted torches as a declaration of war into the enemy's country : see the Scholiast to Eurip. *Phæn.* 1386 (1379). Much later, however, are the analogies in the *Panchatantra*, in Ovid's *Fasti* iv. 701 sqq., and in Babrius *Fab.* xi.

³ According to xiv. 15 and similar passages the sense of the very condensed words in xv. 6 can scarcely have been other than this.

⁴ i.e. not leave off till he had fully carried out his revenge.

⁵ A proverbial phrase, as is easily seen ; the blow from behind strikes the fugitive first upon the hips, and would of itself be sufficient ; but is followed up immediately by one upon the thigh, which makes him instantly fall. Hence it means strictly 'the thigh over and above' i.e. *beside* 'the hips.'

⁶ Where a city of the same name was situated, 1 Chron. iv. 32 (comp. ver. 3), 2 Chron. xi. 6. The succeeding names of heights and springs happen to occur nowhere else.

With the ass's jawbone score upon score,
With the ass's jawbone I have killed a thousand men!¹

From the throwing-away of the jawbone the place Lehi, as also the neighbouring place Ramath-Lehi (Lehi Height), derives its name; and the likewise neighbouring Machtesh (the Lehi Hollow, more distinctively named En-hakkore) was so called because God there, at the supplication of the hero, dying with thirst after such severe exertion, opened a refreshing spring of water—mere explanations of local names like those in the legends of the Patriarchs.²

c) In Gaza he made love to a harlot; and some simpletons of the place, who have spied him out in the house, surround it, that they may capture him early in the morning. So at midnight, while they are asleep, he passes out through the gate, and in derision bears off the gate itself with all its appurtenances on his shoulders, up to the heights before Hebron, where his disappointed enemies might most plainly behold their loss.³ But what further? Will the Philistines, who have once already by blustering got him back from the men of Judah, now rest content? Will they let their proud gates remain for ever above the capital of Judah? Every one who follows the chain of these charming legends will feel it an impossibility that the new series just begun should end here. There can be no question but that in the present text the two remaining legends belonging to this series have here dropped out;⁴ in which, according to the general plan, it may have been told how, though he now fell into Philistine captivity, he freed himself by his strength, and visited his persecutors with still severer retribution. Here, in fact, must be the climax of the whole, and here his most marvellous triumphs must have occurred. Moreover, as Hebron is Judah's ancient capital, its people may

¹ *Score* is here put simply as being a definite number which can be used in a general sense; for חֶסֶד, like חֶמֶד, must signify, not a heap in general, but a heap of some definite number: first twelve, then twice twelve, and so on to 1,000; almost like *sapta jaghāna pūgān Dūtē: Sūtānām Mahā-Bhārata* iii. 11,909. The spring afterwards shown as that here referred to, is described in T. Tobler's *Dritte Wanderung* pp. 145 sqq., 466.

² On the use of the jawbone as a magic weapon, comp. Sir G. Grey's *Polynesian Mythology* (1855), pp. 35 sq.

³ As the Moslem relate that Ali lifted off the gate of Chaibar, and used it as a shield; Pococke's *Hist. Arab.* p. 10, Abul-

fida's *Annals* i. p. 132.

⁴ Either these passages have fallen out of the extant text merely through the fault of later transcribers in xvi. 2 and 13 sqq. (so the LXX. retain some words which notwithstanding their evident necessity are wanting in the Massoretic text), or they had been already omitted by the last compiler. The latter view is supported by the general much abbreviated condition in which this cycle of legends, originally intended to be given with almost poetic detail, now exists. Even at xv. 20 (comp. xvi. 31) the last compiler evidently wished to conclude all the Samson-legends; and it is fortunate for us that he afterwards allowed ch. xvi. to follow.

perhaps, at the period assigned at p. 59, have actually dragged off the gates of Gaza as a trophy, and planted them aloft on their own hill.

d) But his increasing foolhardiness and growing recklessness now leads him to the Traitress¹ in the valley of Sorek. She keeps the Philistine chiefs in the background, ready to seize him, as soon as she can elicit from him the secret of his irresistible strength. He disappoints her and her employers three times; with inexhaustible wit putting her on the wrong track as to his secret, and then at the critical moment easily bursting the constraint attempted on him, because it has not yet hit on his secret. They are imposed upon by the fiction, first, that seven fresh bullock-sinews or tendons, then that seven ropes never before used for any other purpose, and lastly, that securely weaving the seven locks of his hair into another web, would bind him; but he, as often as he wakes from his sleep, snaps the sinews and the ropes like thin threads; and even with his hair so fettered draws out of the wall the warp into which it was woven, together with the strong nail which held it.² Thus again is three times proved his infinite strength; but the ground is already mined beneath his feet; he squanders his giant strength in the mere saving of his own life; and at last, as if possessed by insanity, he madly trifles with the very key of his secret; he risks even the tampering with his hair. From this there is but one step to the final catastrophe.

e) The secret once betrayed, he is irretrievably ruined; and although, even in the depth of misery and contempt, his nobler spirit returns in fearful force with the growth of new strength, it is only in his heroic self-destruction that he can wreak a vengeance on his enemies in which all his vast achievements attain their climax.³

All is here as beautifully arranged and as highly finished, as is the history of Jonah on a smaller scale, in the well-known book. No drama or epic can boast a better-contrived plan; and

¹ This is the meaning of the name *Delilah*, and the only end that she serves,

whether we derive the name from *دل* or from *החל חל*; comp. *الدلية المحتالة* in the *Thousand and One Nights*; *Journ. As.* 1856, ii. p. 389 sq.; Seetzen's *Reisen* iv. p. 499.

² Compare even now the simple Abyssinian loom, fastened by a peg to the ground; also the descriptions in T. Tob-

ler's *Denksblätter aus Jerusalem*, p. 246; and in Livingstone's *Travels*. The complete text has been here preserved by the LXX.

³ Compare the similar account of the death of the gladiator Kleomedes of Astypalæa, in Pausanias *Perieg.* vi. 9. 3 and Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* v. 34; also the history in the Hamâsa, pp. 104, 9 sq. How by the two central columns Samson might bring down the whole large building, is attempted to be made clear by K. B. Stark, *Gaza und die Philist. Küste*, 1852, p. 332 sqq.

to separate any single particular for independent consideration without regard to the general connection, is simply to understand nothing of the whole.¹

(iii) If in this way the full historic greatness of this singular hero may have suffered somewhat in the mouth of the people, and the series of his thirteen great deeds has been purposely arranged, that the riddle of his strength might be solved only in the story of his last all-surpassing deed; on the other hand the last compiler, from whom proceeds the introduction to Samson's history in xiii. 1-24, through a deeper insight and higher tone, has the merit of virtually restoring to history the true greatness and historic significance of Samson. For it is undeniable that in his day there must have been more sources of information available respecting Samson's greatness as a hero, and especially as the founder of Nazirism; since the Nazirites would assuredly laud their own hero after their own fashion. Thus the last author, as if to give the necessary complement to those thirteen little tales of human life, at the very outset of Samson's life throws off a foreshadowing of his whole career in its Divine significance; as if at his entrance into the world a fitting tribute must be paid to the laws and the dignity of Nazirism, which with him first appeared in full force. Even in sketching this divine picture, the author evidently follows earlier models,² sometimes even verbally; and in this respect his comprehensive picture has scarcely anything that can be called his own. But what it was here most necessary to introduce was the character of Nazirism—an institution which, though perhaps previously ordained by higher prescription, first entered the domain of history through Samson and his parents. For if it had some affinity, however little, with Prophecy, and could boast of some few great deeds as wrought by its influence, it might justly seem worthy to have been announced and ordained by an angel from heaven.

2) *Eli, the High Priest and Judge.*

a.) *Eli's Life.*

Since the Judgeship proceeding from the people had proved too weak, even with the additional power of the vow, to effect a general and permanent deliverance of the nation, it was only the natural course of things that this office, now recognised as

¹ The Song of Songs in like manner consists of five acts and thirteen cantos; 1843, p. 752 sqq.
² See i. p. 164 note. Here again Josephus shows to very little advantage.

coexistent with the Theocracy, should at last be grasped by the intellectual leaders of the community, to try whether it might not be possible, by the alliance of the two established powers, to arrest the downfall of the entire community. In fact, the convulsive new-birth of the nation is now only passing through its final crisis. All the powers that lie deepest in the people must come forth from their hiding-places, to show whether this Judgeship, not legally sanctioned, but established by long precedent, is capable of healing the wounds of the state; or whether, when all available forces of the community have tried their hand at it in every form, its inadequacy to stem the growing political difficulties will be finally recognised.

The judicial office had originally no connection with the sacerdotal. Exceptional and provisional, it grew up by the side of an office permanent and hereditary; and up to this point not one of the Judges has been of priestly descent. Now, however, in the person of Eli, the renovated sacerdotal power grasps also at the judicial rank. By what immediate circumstances Eli in particular was elevated to be at once High Priest and Judge, we have at present no means of determining. When the Books of Samuel first mention him, he is already grown grey in office; for it is their plan to begin the history of the rise of monarchy not with him but with Samuel. And although the gap between Samson's death and the rule of Eli, already long established, cannot be a very wide one, because at both epochs the Philistines determine the fortunes of Israel, we must admit that it exists, and that we have no assistance from any other quarter towards filling it up. Yet in that passage of the Chronicles where the continuous line of hereditary High Priests from Aaron and Eleazar to the destruction of the Temple is given,¹ there is no mention of Eli and his posterity, who were recognised as High Priests up to the time of Solomon. Josephus² says still more distinctly, that in him the family of Ithamar, Aaron's second son, was elevated to the High Priesthood. It would be quite a mistake to conclude from these late and unconnected notices that the race of Eleazar was forcibly

¹ 1 Chron. v. 29-41 [vi. 3-15], and the first half again in vi. 35-38 [50-53]; comp. xxiv. 3 sq. The family to which Eli and Ithamar belonged is however nowhere given.

² *Ant.* v. end, according to which the office was held up to the time of Eli by Eleazar, Phinehas, Abiezer (Abishua in the Chronicles), Bukki and Uzzi succes-

sively; in contradiction to *Antiquities* viii. 1. 3, according to which under the rule of the house of Eli Bukki Joseph's son, Joatham, Marajoth, Arophæus (יִרְמְיָהוּ 1 Chron. xii. 5 *Ketib*), Ahitob, and Zadok lived as private individuals; names only partially agreeing with the Chronicles; comp. xx. 10. Thus carelessly did Josephus quote his authorities.

superseded by Eli; such an assumption is wholly opposed to the most ancient traces of the history of the period, which we possess in the Books of Samuel. Here Eli appears as a benevolent Judge, neither committing nor fearing violence; indeed as a holy man who comforts Samuel's mother with such divine consolation as is elsewhere given by an angel from heaven.¹ And even where the narrative prophetically depicts from a higher point of view the divine reasons for the inevitable fall of the house of Eli and rising up of that of Zadok of the race of Eleazar,² there is not the remotest hint that this is a retribution for violence formerly used by Eli against Eleazar's descendants. Only the wrong doings of his own sons are made to have caused the ruin of his house. And so appropriate, in this prophetic survey, would have been some allusion to the unjust origin of that greatness which was now to be so deeply humbled, that its omission is the most conclusive evidence that Eli attained his elevation by no violence to the rival family. Eli's house is even spoken of in this place as if it were Aaron's direct successor and thence derived all its high distinction;³ and this is the very reason why the rejection of this house and the substitution of another in the priestly office appears so impressive; though it receives its divine justification in the corruption of Eli's sons.⁴

But much of what might here seem obscure is explained by the nature of the Judgeship, especially in this last period of its existence. For Eli appears not merely as High Priest, but also distinctly as Judge.⁵ It is precisely this combination of two powers hitherto so very different, that is the distinctive novelty in his case; and this must give us the key to the understanding of the meagre remnants of his history. The Judgeship, it is true, had emanated entirely from the people, and was in this respect the exact opposite of that High Priesthood which had shown itself insufficient for popular guidance. But the Judge-

¹ 1 Sam. i. 9-20; comp. Judges xiii.

² 1 Sam. ii. 27-36; comp. i. 143 sq.

³ In the first section, vv. 27-29, 'Eli's father's house' must be understood of the whole tribe of Levi, as is clear from the historical reference to Egypt and the contrast to the other tribes of Israel; but in the second, vv. 30-36, where the discourse passes on to the future, the falling 'house of Eli and his father' is as clearly restricted to his particular branch of the sacerdotal line, which is affirmed to have received above all others the Divine blessing, as that of the High Priest.

⁴ We might from this be bold enough to conjecture, that the only reason why the family of Zadok, which furnished High Priests from the time of Solomon, is traced back in the Chronicles to Eleazar Aaron's first-born, is because it supplanted the posterity of Eli. But we should find no actual proof of this assumption; and the fact that Zadok and Abiathar were jointly High Priests as early as David's time, points to an early coexistence of the families of Eleazar and of Ithamar, 2 Sam. viii. 17, xx. 25 sq.

⁵ 1 Sam. iv. 18.

ship being at this time of long standing, the Priesthood might now for its own and the people's safety attempt to strengthen itself by union with the Judgeship; all the more easily from the fact that the Judgeship had proved so inadequate in the Philistine days, and that all hitherto reserved powers of the community were now called forth into action. But although the Judgeship, after Gideon's time, tended more and more to become hereditary, as Eli's sons seem in fact to have regarded the office, yet it is evident that no new Judge, even of priestly rank, could possibly be acknowledged, unless he had proved himself a hero and deliverer of the people. And this is in itself good reason for assuming that Eli in his youth was a great hero and deliverer of Israel, and that like all the Judges he attained his position by extraordinary prowess. We can also perceive that in the forty years ascribed to Eli's rule the Philistines had no longer the same preponderance as in the forty years of their first ascendancy, within which Samson's isolated resistance is comprised. For even in Eli's old age we behold the entire people once more fighting from their central point against the Philistines; how then may he when young have united the people against them! But if Eli raised himself thus to the rank of Judge, ennobled, as we must suppose, by his own strength and successful activity, the office of High Priest at the Sanctuary in Shiloh probably devolved upon him simply as a descendant of Aaron. For this office had then manifestly fallen so low, the disorganised and scattered state of the priestly class was so deep-rooted, and the unity and cohesion afterwards given to it by Solomon were still so remote, that probably any descendant of Aaron who possessed much consideration with the people was readily acknowledged as High Priest in Shiloh by all his adherents. We shall see this state of things virtually perpetuated under David.¹

We have clear indications how important must have been the influence of this Priest-Judge in his best days. Even after the stroke which hurled him with both his sons into ruin, and gave a blow to his house from which it never recovered, we find his posterity in an honourable position. His great-grandson Ahiah inherited what remained of the power, and possessed it in Saul's time (p. 187); and Ahiah's son Abiathar was for a long time David's sole priest of the oracle.

¹ According to the Samaritan Chronicle xli-xliv, Eli and Samuel were the originators of all apostasy and depravity in Israel; but this is only so conceived from the one-sided Samaritan view of the whole ancient history, and founded upon a perversion of the words in 1 Sam. i-vii.

Yet what was done by Eli for the help and elevation of the people was certainly rather in war than in a permanent and salutary moral influence, even if he himself, as is possible, had formerly been a Nazirite. His rule in the end only affords a proof that even the Priesthood, though straining every nerve for the general deliverance, was in the existing condition of state and people unequal to inaugurating any permanent improvement. The narrative, it is true, particularises only Eli's sons' offences against morals and decorum with regard to the sacrifices offered by individuals at the Sanctuary, in which they saw only an object for their own cupidity and enjoyment; and further their misdemeanours with the women of the Temple;¹ and asserts that the grey-haired father exhorted them vainly, and reminded them of the proverb,

If one man sin against another, God will mediate for him;
But if he sin against Jahveh, who shall be his intercessor?²

But in these irreclaimable priestly youths in the very bosom of the Sanctuary, we have the clearest sign of the lawless and disorganised times; and if the people were as deeply exasperated as they ought to be by such wanton abuses, practised with the sacrifices by the sons of the Priest-Judge, it is no wonder that in Eli's old age they allowed themselves time after time to be beaten by the Philistines; that the Ark of the Covenant, brought at last into the camp in their despair, might for a moment excite a cry of joy among the soldiers of Israel, and an alarm among the Philistines, but brought no victory; and that inexorable shame and disaster at last overwhelmed the aged Eli and his two sons Hophni and Phinehas. The Philistines, we are told, were encamped at Aphek, the Israelites at Eben-ezer;³ a battle ensued, in which 4,000 of the latter remained dead upon the field outside the camp. When, to avert further disaster, they had the Ark of the Covenant brought from Shiloh into their camp, the camp itself with the Ark was taken, and 32,000 of them, including Eli's two sons, were left on the field. When the tale of terror reached Shiloh, Eli, then ninety-eight years old, who, notwithstanding his blindness, was sitting impatient

¹ On this point see my *Alterthümer*, p. 326 sqq.

² 1 Sam. ii. 25. That this is a very ancient proverb, is evident even from the use of the word אֱלֹהִים for the highest authority ruling in God's stead (as in Judges v. 8, p. 85 sq.), which in civil offences acts as mediator, and could also save from capital punishment one guilty of a criminal offence against another by the

imposition of a fine. Equally rare is the use of מִלֵּל and that of מִתְּפִלָּה in this sense at least.

³ According to 1 Sam. vii. 12, these places must have lain to the west of Mizpeh (p. 185), but their exact site has not yet been identified. In vii. 12 the very origin of Eben-ezer is ascribed to Samuel.

within the gate of the city which faced the battlefield,¹ fell backwards from his high seat against the wall of the gate and broke his neck. His son Phinehas' wife gave birth prematurely to a son, who it is said received the name Ichabod, i.e. 'dishonoured,' because the Ark of the Covenant, Israel's highest glory, was taken from them.² The present narrative does not even think it worth mentioning that another descendant of Eli succeeded him as a feebler Priest of the Sanctuary.

b.) *The Fortunes of the Ancient Sanctuary.*

(i) The historical book which tells us of Eli, does not mention what fate befell the sacred city of Shiloh, his place of abode, after these great disasters. We must therefore gather from scattered notices the particulars of a calamitous event of the time which historians willingly passed over in mournful silence, but which was not without influence on the course of succeeding history. We saw at p. 32, that from the days of Joshua Shiloh became the settled station of the Sanctuary of Israel; and we cannot doubt that until the death of Eli it maintained its prerogative. There were indeed in the country many spots which from one cause or other possessed a certain sanctity dating from various times before or after Moses, and had smaller altars of their own. At such of these as were situated in the central portion of the country, in the territories of Ephraim and Benjamin, the national Assembly often met; for we observe at a very early date a remarkable unwillingness to let the Assembly meet at the place where the High Priest had his abode. Such a city was Shechem (p. 50), which however, according to p. 114 sqq., early devoted itself to objects certain to alienate from it the favour of many of the tribes; also Gilgal (p. 16 sqq.), the ancient Bethel; and Mizpeh,³ lying, like Bethel,⁴ north of Jerusalem in

¹ Instead of the perfectly unintelligible י' 1 Sam. iv. 13, should be read from the closely corresponding description in 2 Sam. xviii. 24 שָׁגַי הַשְּׁעָרִים and then בָּרָרָה: 'he sat on the seat in the inner gate like a watcher,' comp. ver. 18; only like a watcher or an expectant did he sit there, because he could no longer see.

² As the sacerdotal name אֵיתָמָר though perfectly analogous in form does not admit of such an interpretation, and as the idiom of the language presents another possibility (see my *Lehrb.* p. 667), this ingenious turn may have been given to the story at a later time.

³ Robinson i. p. 460 places it conjecturally at the present *Nebi Samvil*, although the name of this place would rather lead us to suppose it the ancient Ramah of Samuel. The latter was situated, according to 1 Macc. iii. 46, not far north of Jerusalem, and was known even in the days of the Maccabees as an ancient sanctuary.

⁴ In Joshua xviii. 22, comp. ver. 26, Bethel is assigned to Benjamin; but from the intimate connection before explained between Ephraim and Benjamin, it is not surprising that in Judg. i. 22 sqq., it appears as Ephraim's conquest, and that

the tribe of Benjamin. How the last place became sacred we do not now know as we do of the others; much, unquestionably, that was once of import in the time of the Judges, is now lost to us; but it certainly was held sacred before Samuel's time.¹ Again, it is quite probable that even in earlier times the ark had sometimes been removed from Shiloh. So once during a war we see it stationed for a considerable period at Bethel, to be nearer the theatre of hostilities,² the belief being in those days so deeply rooted that its near presence might forward the victory. But the Tabernacle, with the other sacred relics of Mosaic antiquity, certainly always remained at Shiloh, where the High Priest had his permanent abode, and where the yearly harvest-festival was celebrated by the entire people,³ while the Passover was then kept by many at Gilgal by preference (p. 34). Now when we see that after the death of Eli Shiloh loses all importance as the chief station of the Sanctuary, that no High Priest again makes it his abode,⁴ and that the Tabernacle itself, so far as it is mentioned in later times, seems stationed elsewhere; we must needs suppose that the Philistines took advantage of that great victory to conquer Shiloh and destroy its famous Sanctuary, although the history (which in its present state is much abbreviated throughout) does not even mention it. The city reappears⁵ afterwards, it is true, as not quite uninhabited; but evidently as only gradually restored, like so many

in the division of the kingdom of David, when the greater part of Benjamin fell to Judah, 1 Kings xii. 21, Bethel remained with Ephraim, and is therefore rightly distinguished from Benjamin in Hos. v. 8.

¹ This follows from the very clear account in Judges xx. 1-xxi. 8, compared with 1 Sam. vii. 5-12, 16, x. 17.

² The expression in Judg. xx. 27 certainly sounds somewhat general; but as the movement of all the tribes there described obviously lasted a considerable time before it was entirely pacified, and the people from the camp at Mizpeh went repeatedly to Bethel to the High Priest, who took part in the war, xx. 18, 23 (where Bethel must be inserted or understood), 26, xxi. 2; there is nothing that forces us to assume any much longer absence of the ark from Shiloh; while on the contrary the words in xix. 18 seem to imply its presence. In Josh. xxiv. 1, the words '*before God*' indicate that the ark was then at Shechem.

³ The expression in Judges xxi. 19 implies merely a yearly festival; and then, according to every indication, this could

be only the autumn-feast.

⁴ For the words כהן יהוה בשילה 1 Sam. xiv. 3 are not to be referred to Ahiah but to Eli, as indeed is shown by the connection.

⁵ 1 Kings xi. 29, Jer. xli. 5; a place with the fuller ancient name must have remained even in the time of the LXX., since they write Σηλόμ for *Shiloh*; the Samaritans also pronounced *Sailūn* (Chron. xliii. sqq.); and even at the present day is found, just where it might be expected, a village Sailūn, in a valley, but closely encompassed by mountains (Robinson ii. p. 267 sqq.). The Tabernacle would certainly stand well sheltered on the neighbouring hill, as appears clearly from Ex. xv. 17 (Ps. lxxviii. 54); for the entire context shows that חר is not here to be understood of all Canaan, as perhaps in Deut. iii. 25 (comp. ἡ ὁρεὺς, Judith v. 15, vi. 7, xi. 2). And besides, the minute description of the situation of Shiloh in Judges xxi. 19 indicates that when that was written the city was already less known.

other towns in those times, through the people's indomitable zeal for resettlement after a devastation. But the Tabernacle, as might be expected from similar cases, was carried off by watchful Levites before the destruction was completed; and as late as the time of David and of Solomon's building of the Temple, is found established at Gibeon in the tribe of Benjamin.¹ But as the hereditary High Priest would always have his abode in the neighbourhood of the Tabernacle, it is probable that it was first carried from Shiloh to Nob, likewise in the tribe of Benjamin; and not until the destruction of that place by Saul,² was removed to Gibeon. For we find a great-grandson of Eli, Ahiah or Ahimelech,³ son of Ahitub, elder brother of the ill-starred Ichabod mentioned above (p. 185), who therefore might be about twenty by the time Saul became king, permanently residing at Nob, except when he accompanied Saul to war; and under his charge, as we learn from the distinct accounts of David's youth, was the greatest Sanctuary of those times.

(ii) But of the fortunes of the Ark of the Covenant, which was carried off and regarded as the best prize of victory, we have fuller information,⁴ because it was always accounted the most sacred thing of all. This strange symbol, certainly never before captured, the Philistines carried off, as they would have done the image of a god, to Ashdod, then perhaps reckoned the capital of their five little kingdoms; and set up as a trophy of victory before the image of Dagon, who must have been then accounted their chief god (p. 104). But the neighbourhood or actual presence of a new god brings either great blessing or great bane: such was the feeling of the whole ancient world. When the Philistines, whose hearts and passions were just then inflamed by the pride of their great victory, soon after found their bodies plagued with loathsome diseases,⁵ and their fields wasted

¹ 1 Chron. xxi. 29, comp. xvi. 39. 1 Kings iii. 4 sqq., ix. 2.

² 1 Sam. xxii.

³ That Ahiah in 1 Sam. xiv. 3, 18 is identical with Ahimelech in xxi. 2 [1] and xxii. 9 is certain, more especially from the latter passage; the only question is which of the two names is the original. But perhaps the two were interchanged indifferently (since *Melech* 'King' may be applied also to God); as אֱלִימֶלֶךְ in the Book of Ruth, and אֱלִיָּהוּ.

⁴ 1 Sam. v. 1-vii. 1. That the additions made by the LXX. are not necessary in v. 3, 6, but are in vi. 1, is shown by the connection, as well as by the necessary

increase in the punishments; in v. 3, 6, the additions would even injure the sense. Further, at v. 4 נָתַן or נָתַת is wanting after רָק; in vi. 4 the second חֲמִשָּׁה should be struck out, in both cases according to the LXX.; and at vi. 18 עַד should be read for the middle עַד, and אֲבָן instead of אֲבָל. Josephus, who in his *Jewish Wars* v. 9. 4 refers to this history, calls the Philistines, after the fashion of his own later times, Assyrians, i.e. Syrians.

⁵ As the somewhat obscure word עֲפָלִים must from vi. 4 sqq. denote something which could be visibly represented, and in vi. 11, 17 interchanges with טַחְרִים

by a fearfully increasing multitude of all-devouring mice,¹ it is not surprising that in their deadly terror they grew impatient of the new deity in their midst, and resolved to appease the wrath of this god, whose entire mysterious nature must in itself have seemed to them so dread and unnatural, and send back his Sanctuary with costly offerings.² We may accept all this as strictly historical; and it is our most ancient testimony to the impression produced on the heathen, even when victorious, by this God of Israel, whose very Sanctuary was so unlike that of any heathen deity. Unless indeed the incorrupt and almost indomitable nation of Israel had then already excited among its enemies an undefined awe of its mysterious God, those terrible experiences alone would never have inspired the Philistines with a reverence for the Ark, of which the Chaldeans, for instance, showed themselves wholly destitute at the burning of the Temple several centuries later; but all things combined to urge the Philistines to this decision. The deep impression which the actual return of this great Sanctuary within the borders of Israel could not but produce upon the people of those unhappy times—unhappy by no fault of their own—may easily be conceived; and we need not be surprised that in the first excitement of gratified feeling the impression was formed, that Dagon in his own sanctuary had fallen prostrate before the Ark,³ and that this conception became deeply and permanently stamped upon the Israelite narrative. Unfortunately we have the whole narrative only in one form. In this, Dagon falls prostrate the very first night before the Ark, which had been placed

there can be no doubt that it signifies, first the seat (*podex*), then either the bloody flux (which in certain countries accompanies other contagious diseases; see *Ausland*, April 17, 1847), which is nearly the view taken by Josephus, or tumours affecting that part of the body. This view is supported by Deut. xxviii. 27 and *Syri tumores* in Martial *Epigram*. iv. 43; Porphyry *De Abstin.* iv. 15. Leipzig suffered in February and March 1855 from an epidemic of boils. R. Tanchum understood it as piles. Any way, it is clear even from v. 12 that nothing pestilential can be intended. Similar revolting chastisements are meant in Gen. xx. 17, Herod. i. 105, iv. 67. In general the Israelites, being then a true mountain race, might probably be much healthier than the Philistines in their lowlands and rich commercial cities.

¹ On this punishment see p. 14 note. Even in 1848 the coffee-crop in Ceylon was entirely destroyed by mice; see also

Heffter's *Rhodische Gottesdienste* iii. p. 43, and Chwolson's *Ssábier* ii. pp. 84, 456.

² As in Rome at the present day a picture of the mortal peril from which any one has been delivered after taking a vow is hung up in the church of the saint invoked, so then the Philistines dedicated to Jahveh five (enlarged) golden images of the parts affected by the disease, and as many figures of mice as there were towns and villages. An analogy may also be found in the brazen serpent set up by Moses, only that Moses used it to enforce another lesson (see i. p. 599).

³ This fall is therefore to be viewed in something the same light as that of the walls of Jericho. Similar occurrences, as if the images of the gods had life and feeling, are related by many heathen nations: see Burnouf's *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien* i. p. 132, Mackenzie's *Collection* ii. p. 41, Cicero *De Divin.* i. 74 sqq., 77, and Klausen's *Æneas* pp. 579, 623, 655.

in his innermost sanctuary; and being set up again by his votaries, falls again in the following night—but this time with head and hands broken off upon the threshold; for which reason, it is said, his priests even in later times preferred to spring over that threshold rather than touch it with the foot.¹ And as at the same time the people of Ashdod began to suffer Divine chastisement, it was resolved to remove the Ark to Gath, nearer to the land of Israel. Then, when in addition to the former judgments, a kind of plague broke out here, it was moved to Ekron.² Finally the Ekronites also were unable to endure its presence, as another Divine judgment, a plague of field-mice, fell upon them; and then it was resolved to send it back with due honour within the borders of Israel.³ This return was conducted with all that scrupulous care which in very ancient days many nations bestowed upon such a sanctuary. Two milch-cows never yet used for the plough were yoked to a new carriage, on which was placed the Ark surrounded by the offerings; and the cows were then driven forward, their young ones being taken from them and shut up.⁴ If notwithstanding this they went forward willingly direct to the desired point, this was received as a Divine attestation of the correctness of the whole proceeding; and, as the account goes, they did in fact go direct, followed by the Philistine princes, to within the borders of Israel at Beth-shemesh, a Levitical city in north-western Judah. There the inhabitants, just then busy with the corn harvest, sacrificed the cows with fire kindled from the wood of the carriage; the Levites took possession of the Ark,

¹ That they regarded the threshold as too sacred to be trodden, and therefore preferred to spring over it, was undoubtedly an ancient custom of these priests; yet in its origin it does not greatly differ from the custom among other nations that the priests must not tread the inner temple in shoes. It may thus have been more ancient than is here assumed. See Knudsen's *Gross-Namaqua-Land* (Barmen 1848) p. 12.

² Whence we may conclude that Gath, of which the site is scarcely known to us from any other source, was situated almost in the middle between Ashdod and Ekron, but farther east, perhaps on the site of the present Tell-el-Sâfié. According to Jerome on Micah i. 11, we ought rather to think of the more southerly Tell-el-Hâsi from *Gathi*?). In any case it was different from Gath-Rimmon, Josh. xix. 45; which lay on the road from Eleutheropolis

to Lydda, somewhere near Dair-Dubban or Ajjur. The LXX. are wrong in substituting Askalon for Ekron (comp. similar confusions in vii. 14); and this explains the origin of the unnecessarily artificial view taken in Josephus, that the Ark had been first sent to all the five cities of the Philistines.

³ In like manner the black stone of the Kaaba, stolen by the Carmathians in the year 314 of the Hegira, was voluntarily returned by them in 339.

⁴ See something similar in 2 Sam. vi. 3 sqq.; and see how other nations viewed the removal of images of the gods in Livy v. 22, Plut. *Cam.* 30 sqq., Livy xxix. 11. But no doubt the selection of cows for this solemnity was connected with the religion of Dagon, as the god of tillage. See my *Essay Ueber die Phönix. Ansichten von der Welterschöpfung*, p. 19.

and the greatest joy prevailed. According to this account, the Ark had been seven months in a foreign land.

Why the Philistines conducted the Ark only to this Levitical frontier-town is easily explained; but why was it not restored by Israel to its ancient station? This is explained by the destruction which, from what we have seen, must at that very moment have been impending over Shiloh; in consequence of which there was probably at that time absolutely no regular priesthood in Israel, and perhaps as yet no permanent station again assigned to the Tabernacle. Besides, the solemn and honourable removal of a great religious symbol required, according to the feeling of those times,¹ a host of sacrifices and other expenditure, to which Israel was at that time scarcely equal. Thus the Ark remained in Beth-shemesh, where a stone in the field of one Joshua was afterwards shown, whereon the Philistines had set it down. And any place where it had once rested in tranquillity and blessedness was considered as blest by the Ark itself, and could wish nothing better than always to possess it. But though this Sanctuary, now 300 years old, had obtained an almost superstitious reverence in Israel itself, Beth-shemesh soon suffered a repetition of what the Philistines had experienced. A great mortality in the city² and neighbourhood, though attributed only to insufficient rejoicings on the part of some of the inhabitants, the sons of Jechoniah, on the arrival of the Sanctuary, excited such consternation that the citizens of Beth-shemesh entreated those of the neighbouring city of Kirjath-jearim (see p. 61 note 5) to take the Sanctuary to themselves. The offer was gladly accepted; a certain Abinadab set it up in his own ground upon a hill, and his son Eleazar was consecrated its priest. Of course these men were Levites, though the city was not one of the forty-eight Levitical cities. There the Ark remained quietly till the time of David; but the ancient Tabernacle thus continued bereaved of its greatest symbol.

(iii) This entire destruction of the ancient Holy Place, and the dispersal of the sacred symbols, as well as of the principal priests themselves, occurred at a time when the ancient condition and constitution of the nation were already most perilously shaken, and all things were tending to a still more radical revolution. It is not without significance, that the expiration

¹ Comp. 2 Sam. vi. 5 sqq.

² In 1 Sam. vi. 19 it runs seventy men, 50,000 men; thus gradually proceeding from the former to the latter number. See a similar case at p. 177; the alteration in the construction advocated by Quatre-

mère (*Mém. de l'Inst.* 1851, p. 476; *Jour. As.* 1861, i. p. 120 sq.), does not suit. We should here read with the LXX. וְלִאֵלֶּיָּהּ יִקְרָא בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל for the first יִיךְ.

of each of the three great eras in the history of Israel is marked by the violent destruction of the existing form of an external Sanctuary which had endured for centuries; as if to indicate plainly that this history is after all rather that of a religion than of a nation. Such successive centuries had wrought mighty changes in the inner life of religion in Israel; and so the destruction of the visible Sanctuary which had served both as veil and as sign of that inner life, naturally follows, as the final result and likewise the external attestation of the change. In the first case, that now before us, the destruction is comparatively the most enduring and the most easily remedied; since the general life of the people, notwithstanding its present decline, is the healthiest, and indeed actually powerfully aspiring towards real improvement. Thus this very destruction helped to bring about that better state of things for which all were sighing. The High Priesthood, though renovated, could no longer protect the ancient Sanctuary; the evil of ever-growing weakness pressed heavily on the whole nation, but especially on the Priests. But all this tended to smooth the way for a hero of a new stamp, who, though anything but a High Priest himself, contributed most of all to give a determinate direction to the internal improvement and strengthening of the community, and to facilitate the transition from the ancient constitution to a new one, in which the visible Sanctuary should rise again in still greater glory in the midst of a renovated people. This last hero of the whole period, and mighty inaugurator of a new one, is Samuel.

3) SAMUEL, THE CONSECRATED PROPHET AND JUDGE.

Samuel is one of the few great men in history, who in critical times, by sheer force of character and invincible energy, terminate the previous form of a great existing system, at first against their own will, but afterwards, when convinced of the necessity, with all the force and eagerness of their nature; and who then initiate a better form with the happiest results, though amid much personal suffering and persecution. No new truth, stretching beyond the Mosaic first principles, impels him to action; but those principles he grasps with a reality and vividness all his own; and it was the great necessity of his time not to let such truths drop into oblivion. Those truths, rising into intense vitality in his own spirit, he has the strength and the self-devotion to embody afresh in the life of his age, and to reconstitute the whole people in conformity with them in such

manner as the changed conditions of the age admit. Similarly Luther, taking his stand only on the fundamental principles of Christianity, from that recovered ground renovated and transformed his age, so far as seemed possible under the overpowering weight of circumstance. Being rather a man of daring and unwearied energy than of thought and reflection, Samuel at first throws himself entirely into the established system, and avails himself of all its latent powers and existing institutions, with the happiest result in strengthening and renovating his people; giving, even up to his mature years, by the splendour and supremacy of his spirit, the last touch of perfection to all that lay within his reach. Here, against his own preconceptions and wishes, the conviction suddenly forces itself upon him that the whole existing system has become hopelessly unsound, and that the community can be saved only by a totally new organisation. And at this moment which is to decide the fate of centuries, he is the hero required, who can sacrifice his previous convictions and all the honours of his rule to give the age what it lacks; and will take care that this gift may indeed accomplish all that can be hoped from it. Although at first a conscientious opponent of the new state of things which a higher necessity was forcing on his people, yet from the moment when he recognises this necessity, he becomes the most devoted and efficient organiser of the new age, just as Luther required to be first overpowered by the great need of the Reformation, before he would dedicate his whole powers to its service.¹ Thus Samuel stands the spiritual hero of two very different eras, equally illustrious in both, but especially happy to find the second, which he not merely lived through but as it were created, an age not of fermentation only but of progress, in which the good seed sown by him might grow and flourish. For if David's visible deeds are greater and more dazzling than Samuel's, still there can be no doubt that David's blaze of glory would have been impossible without Samuel's less conspicuous but far more influential career, and that all the greatness of which the following century boasts, goes back to him as its real author.

¹ In comparing Samuel (in so far as any historical comparison can approach the perfect similarity which is never attained) with our own Luther, I have in fact rejected all previous attempts to find a parallel for one so generally misunderstood. The Middle Ages, Popes included, understood wonderfully little of this sublime scriptural figure; indeed the entire Old Testament, as conceived by them, was lifeless and unmeaning. But though

these Popes might seek and find in some superficially read words of the Old Testament on Samuel a warrant for their own selfish and mischievous revolt against temporal authorities, what enlightened critic could now venture to insult the shade of the noble Biblical hero by comparisons with Gregory VII., Innocent III., and such-like names of ill omen even among the Popes of the present day?

So sublime a figure we must acknowledge Samuel to be, from the few traces yet left to us of his memory. The Books of Samuel, it is true, contain very few words of the true prophetic colouring, which can be referred to him;¹ and are equally scanty in their accounts of his deeds. There is therefore much in the life of this last and most glorious Judge, which we are left to infer, in the absence of more direct testimony, from its unquestionable results. Yet enough has been retained to preclude all possibility of doubt as to his peculiar greatness in both portions of his career.

a.) Samuel was not of the family of Aaron, and was thereby rendered ineligible for the High Priesthood; but he did spring from another Levitical family,² dwelling at Ramah in the land of Zuph among the mountains of Ephraim.³ This descent would in itself mark him as belonging to quite a different circle from his predecessor Samson, whose youthful dedication he however shared.

For we have no reason to doubt that Samuel, like Samson, was a Nazirite. So says his history;⁴ and although the story of his later life mentions no external sign of this peculiarity, yet his whole appearance at that time is confirmatory of such an early dedication. If there was one characteristic more than

¹ At the utmost we can only suppose 1 Sam. xv. to be an ancient discourse in the manner of Samuel; since ver. 23 especially shows a very antique prophetic diction.

² This follows from the double genealogy of Samuel's family which we possess independently of 1 Sam. i. 1 (comp. viii. 1 sq.): the first in 1 Chron. vi. 7-13 [22-28], the other in vi. 18-23 [33-38]: for although a multitude of copyists' errors have crept into 1 Chron. vi. 7-13 [22-28], yet this genealogy agrees in substance with the other in the Chronicles, as well as with the Books of Samuel. To be sure, the narrator of 1 Sam. i. 1 might as well have added לוי after איש, as in Judges xvii. 7, xix. 1, to spare later readers the possibility of misunderstanding; but it is impossible for any one who carefully compares the accounts in the Chronicles, to doubt that Samuel was of Levitical birth. But since the narrator adds אֶתְרֵי rather than לוי, we may most correctly assume that though Samuel was really a Levite, the narrator lays no stress on the circumstance; as in fact those Levites who were not of Aaron's family seem in early times to have been in closer connection with the

rest of the nation. The tithes paid by Elkanah (according to i. 21 of the LXX.), prove nothing against his being a Levite; see my *Alterthümer*, p. 346.

³ This follows from 1 Sam. i. 1, comp. 19, ii. 11, vii. 17, viii. 4, ix. 5 sqq., xix. 18-24, xxv. 1. Only the first passage gives the full name of the city, Ramathaim (i. e. *Double hill*; the meaning of which name may be understood from ix. 14 sqq.) of the Zuphites (or Sophites); comp. ix. 5.

A place named Soba has been recently discovered, not far west of Jerusalem; and at no great distance to the north-east lies the place now named *Nebi Samvil* (p. 185 note 3). But in fact neither this latter place, nor far less the former, corresponds with what we may conclude from 1 Sam. ix. sq. to have been the situation of Samuel's city. This might be better identified with the more northerly Rām-allāh, whose present name seems still to mark it as a place of ancient sanctity. We are in the meantime enabled from this to fix more nearly the site of the Ramathaim so often named in the Grecian period.

⁴ 1 Sam. i. 11, compared with Judges xiii.

another which was superinduced upon his mighty spirit by the times in which he lived, so as to form as it were a hard external shell, it was the inexorable severity with which he acted when he had to carry out what the Jahveh-religion seemed to him to demand:—that severity, fearful perhaps to us, with which, when Saul hesitates, he executes vengeance with his own hand upon the king of the Amalekites;¹ and with which he casts away Saul, his own creature, as a father disowns a son who has proved himself irreclaimable.² Now it is certainly true, that such a sinking age could be saved from imminent dissolution and inevitable ruin only by extreme severity. Especially the harshness now adopted as a principle against certain nations, as the Philistines and the Amalekites,—wherein David seems only to follow in the footsteps of his great preceptor,—appears only a last resource employed by the reviving warlike spirit of the people against those by whom it had been long oppressed, to rid itself of them once for all, and break finally their vexatious mastery. So much had the nation already lost of its free scope, and to such a depth was it now in danger of sinking irretrievably, that no slight weapon would now avail; and this tendency to harsh severity was unfortunately of the very essence of the times. He who, however kindly in other respects, was most direct and inexorable in carrying out what seemed urgently needed, he alone could now become the true physician of the times, the successful founder of a better age. Moreover, at a time when it again became a question whether Israel was to have a country to itself or no home at all upon earth, this increased rigour was in fact nothing new, but only a more decided return to the severity which was its original habit (i. p. 577 sq.). But those in whom this new tendency to increased severity displayed itself first and strongest, were certainly the Nazirites. Samuel is obviously only the intellectually strongest and the most consistent among them; and we can well imagine that from his infancy he was dedicated to the life of a Nazirite. Now this severity takes in Samuel a very peculiar form, of which he is certainly the only example in ancient times. This was due in part to his extraordinary force of mind, unparalleled in his own times; and in part (which cannot but be perceived) to his birth as Levite. For this made it only natural for his parents to have him brought up as God's own at the Sanctuary of Shiloh, thus consecrating him, even more than other Nazirites, to the sacred service. But there, at the centre of government, he must early have become

¹ 1 Sam. xv. 32 sqq.

² 1 Sam. xiii. 11–14; xv.

conversant with the weightiest concerns of the people; and if he remained faithful to his vow, the jarring contrast which he had before his eyes, in the evil example of Eli's children, could but force more strongly upon his mind the conviction of the great necessity of the age, and impel to still more unflinching rigour his determination to act up to this conviction.

But far more than in this all-subduing tension of will is his real greatness of spirit declared in the fact that he likewise assumed the prophetic office, as the freest and highest sphere of action for purifying and improving the community. By his great example he rapidly raised the power of this agency, till it took the deepest hold of the people, reformed and trained them to nobler aims; so that he was truly the father of all the great Prophets who worked such wonders in the ensuing centuries. It would be quite a mistake, it is true, to consider him the first founder of Israelite Prophecy, and to imagine that never before him had the mighty voice of Prophets been uplifted in the community. The Jahveh-religion (i. p. 470 sqq., 562 sqq.) contained within itself from the first the power and the justification of all free Prophecy; and so far we can regard it in Samuel as no new manifestation. That before his time great or at least influential prophets had arisen in the community, may be shown with very tolerable certainty; for even if the nameless prophets mentioned by the last author of the Book of Judges,¹ as well as once in the Books of Samuel,² owe their existence only to a free style of narrative which thus imparts life to early history, and do not therefore, strictly speaking, come under consideration here; yet still, within the narrow compass of the records relating to these times, Ehud (p. 145) and Deborah (p. 146 sq.), strictly historical characters, are sufficient examples of most important prophetic influence long before Samuel; and both had evidently exercised the prophetic function among their own people long before they rose up to take part against foreign enemies. But in the general degeneracy of the times immediately preceding Samuel, the exercise of the prophetic power must have become rarer, as is expressly stated.³ The novelty and the wonder, the like of which had not been seen since the days of Moses, was that in Samuel Prophecy now revived with new force, that according to the beautiful legend, even as a child he was called repeatedly, and each time with more irresistible power, by the clear voice of Jahveh, and that then all Israel once more

¹ Judges ii. 1-5, vi. 7-10.

² 1 Sam. ii. 27.

³ 1 Sam. iii. 1.

yielded itself in perfect trust to the guidance of genuine Prophecy.¹ This deepest and most potent force, which alone could save, lead on, and perfect in the very spirit of the Founder, the community which it had itself originally moulded, now again bursts forth at the right moment, to become that community's deliverer. But this renovated Prophecy, forcing its way upwards with fresh power at so critical a time, must certainly assume a different form from that in which it had first appeared. As Samuel, in this time of threatening ruin, was first Nazirite and then Prophet, Prophecy no longer remains a simple function, merely laying a foundation, and self-justified, but assumes a more austere and decided aspect, allies itself with a distincter purpose to the Jahveh-religion, and rejects more emphatically whatever is antagonistic to that. By Samuel a new and peculiar direction was given to the nation, which we do not perceive under either Ehud or Deborah. With him the possibility of a final triumph of the Jahveh-religion over internal corruption as well as over the heathen is first made prominent; and we see here the germ of what is more and more fully developed in the succeeding centuries. An ancient record² states that the image-worship in Dan (mentioned at p. 120) under a degenerate branch of the priesthood continued only till the great convulsion experienced by the entire people at the end of Eli's rule. Thus in the now ensuing time of trial the nation everywhere reverted all the more decidedly to the stricter religion; and from all that we can learn of Samuel, no one contributed more powerfully to this result.

Thus renewing its youth, and working in a soul of such power and so well suited to be its exemplar, Prophecy is no longer the specialty of a few individuals, as heretofore. In Samuel's advanced age we behold an entirely new feature of the times: whole societies of Prophets—Sons or Scholars of the Prophets, as they were called—who, living in common, exercised themselves in prophetic skill, in music, then closely connected with it, and in other noble arts, and, as is shown by their designation, looked to some illustrious type of their special calling as to a father.³ The previous existence of Nazirites, who from their singular mode of life would naturally keep much

¹ 1 Sam. iii. 20 sq.

² Judges xviii. 30 sqq. See my *Altthümer* p. 258 notes.

³ The expression 'Sons of the Prophets,'

however, is not found in 1 Sam. x. 5 sqq., xix. 20 sqq., but in the Books of Kings from 1 Kings xx. 35 onward, as in Amos vii. 14.

together,¹ may have contributed not a little to this rapid change; but its close connection with Samuel is everywhere most evident.² Through such a diffusion of prophetic training, the higher truths of prophecy must have been most rapidly diffused among the people, and a new and higher life formed in the nation. The best proof of this is that it was soon deemed a necessary mark of cultivation and high position, to be not entirely strange to the new enthusiasm, to have caught once at least the prophetic fire, and been thrilled with heavenly music by the Sons of the Prophets.³ Even of those who started with the most hostile intentions against the prophets and their pupils it is related that on approaching they suddenly stood still, spell-bound by the music and the solemn dance of the devotees; then more and more powerfully drawn by the same spirit into the charmed circle, broke forth into similar words and gestures; then, flinging away the upper garment joined in the dance and the music, and sinking down in ecstatic quivering, utterly forgot the hostile spirit in which they had come.⁴ Nothing in fact shows so certainly as these popular traditions the incalculable effects which proceeded from this spirit. A new power, and that the most spiritual possible, was thenceforward established among the people; a power which beyond all others was the moving-spring of the succeeding centuries, and produced whatever greatness they were capable of.

b.) Thus in Samuel—Levite, Nazirite at the Sanctuary of Shiloh, Prophet, and destined founder of a mightier prophetic power—were united from the first all spiritual gifts most potent for the welfare of the people; and under his powerful control stood the wheels on which the age revolved. All the later glorification of this mighty hero of the community is embraced in one comprehensive glance by the somewhat idealised account at the commencement of his history, which endeavours to ex-

¹ As must therefore have been still more the case with the Rechabites, Jer. xxxv.

² Compare 1 Sam. iii. 1 with x. 5 sqq., xix. 20 sqq.; where this is throughout assumed.

³ This is shown by the fine legend of Saul among the Prophets in 1 Sam. x. 10–12, xix. 24; a legend which was so familiar as to pass into a proverb, and then to be interwoven with all sorts of stories and the most various contexts.

⁴ This is very picturesquely expressed

in the legend from the life of Saul and David, 1 Sam. xix. 19–34. One cannot but be reminded of the well-known dances of the Mohammedan Sufis and Fakirs; and it must be confessed that, dissimilar as may be the religions, there is much similarity in the externals of these later developments. But it must never be forgotten that such exercises, so long as they were really new and prompted by true inspiration, as in the time of Saul, must have produced a very different impression from what we meet with in later times.

plain what his great spirit was from the beginning, and in what circumstances he was early placed. In the existing legend Samuel, like so many heroes of his stamp, appears as a late-born son; thence is sketched a pleasing picture of the birth and dedication of the future hero. This picture, quite different from that of the earlier Nazirite, Samson (p. 180), adheres strictly to natural occurrences without introducing for effect any supernatural persons or words. His mother, like Rachel, receives him after long and vain desire, in answer to fervent prayer to Jahveh at the Sanctuary, and after Eli's blessing; and then, in fulfilment of her vow, gives the child, when between two and three years old, as a Nazirite, to that same Sanctuary.¹ Now while he there performs the lower services, and in direct contrast to Eli's grown-up sons, whose iniquities he has ever before his eyes, grows daily better 'towards Jahveh, as towards men,' the voice of Jahveh comes to him, quite unexpectedly early, and without his being himself at first aware of it, but ever stronger and more irresistibly, at first in a dream. He is thereby urged against his will to announce to Eli the sad doom of his house, which had already been previously foretold to him by another prophet.² The floods of disaster which soon break over Eli's house, too quickly confirm the young prophet's melancholy prediction.³ The description how the voice from above calls young Samuel, at first entirely without, indeed *against*, his own knowledge and will, is in its way exquisitely beautiful and appropriate; but in this form, and this special reference to Eli's rank in the Sanctuary and the fate of his house, it shows itself to be no original tradition, but a conception suggested by the survey of the prophet's entire life and times, as an expression of the fact of the early awakening in Samuel of the prophetic faculty.⁴

How old he was at the time when disaster overtook the house of Eli, we cannot indeed determine exactly; one would suppose that he was still very young, since this was only the commencement of the twenty years' recovered ascendancy of the Philistines, and deepest humiliation of Israel.⁵ Such round

¹ 1 Sam. i. 1-ii. 11. Hannah's song, however, ii. 1-10, has been here interpolated by a later hand (comp. i. p. 158); if only because, from the analogy of i. 19, the last words of verse 28 (where we ought to read *וַיִּשְׁמַע* as in ver. 19) ought to be immediately followed by the words in ii. 11. As each of the four strophes of the song (noticed at p. 127 *note* 1) consists of eight

lines, the words in ver. 2 must have been borrowed from some other source.

² 1 Sam. ii. 12-iii.

³ 1 Sam. iv.

⁴ Even the description of Jahveh's presence in the dream (iii. 10) is quite as poetic in colouring as that in Job iv. 16.

⁵ 1 Sam. vii. 2.

numbers, however, have, according to p. 138, no great weight. But it is clear that at that time Samuel had long been acknowledged in all parts of the country as a great Prophet;¹ he had thereby already made a great step towards the position of Judge, though the general confusion which followed the disastrous events alluded to prevented his becoming Judge immediately. But at last under the pressure of a foreign yoke, the people sighed all the more fervently for Jahveh and his salvation,² thus the narrative runs; and Samuel, responding to this intense longing, held in Mizpeh, not far from his paternal city Ramah, a national Assembly, where the people in deep remorse for the first time voluntarily submitted to him as Judge, and was ready to obey all his ordinances (comp. p. 133 sqq.). When the Philistines heard of the new zeal which had come upon Israel, and of this strong union to be formed under a new head, the actual assembly at Mizpeh came suddenly upon them. While Samuel was still offering sacrifice, the people marched forth against their enemies; and it was as if Jahveh answered Samuel's petition and scattered them with his loudest thunders, so great was the victory achieved by Israel, and the rout of the Philistines, who fled to below Beth-car and Aphek (mentioned p. 184), where Samuel afterwards erected the memorial from which arose the place named Eben-ezer ('Stone of help or victory'). The Philistines were so completely broken, that for a long time they never again dared to pass the frontiers of Israel, and were obliged to restore the conquered cities of the district between Ekron and Gath in which Hebrews dwelt. The intermediate kingdom of the Amorites (p. 100 sqq.), which had latterly adhered to the Philistines, was at the same time taken again under the protection and government of Israel, and received amnesty and peace on these conditions.³

c.) Now if even this Judge, who combined in himself all the highest powers then known in the community, could not permanently reestablish the nation in quiet and security, then it

¹ This follows clearly from the position of 1 Sam. iii. 20 sq. before ch. iv.

² This must be the sense of the words "וַיִּקְרָא אַחֲרָיו" vii. 2: 'They sighed and lamented after Jahveh who had departed from them, wishing he might return: to lament after resembling the phrase elsewhere used, to call after some one, &c. But on this very account these words must be in close connection with ver. 5; and there are also other indications which induce us to refer the intermediate

words, vv. 3 and 4, to a later hand. See i. p. 158.

³ This is the meaning of the last words in vii. 14; before "וְכָל" the words "אֶת הַקְּרִי" must have been dropped out; as we see also from v. 6. That the son of Sirach (Ecclus. xlii. 18) should understand these Amorites as equivalent to the Tyrians, whose name was better known at his day, is intelligible, but can have no strict historical significance.

was clearly proved that the Judgeship, even in its purest and brightest form, could no longer suffice. And indeed it was pretty soon evident in the sequel, that even so extraordinary a Judge as Samuel was unable to cure the deep-rooted evils of the time with the temporal power as limited as it had hitherto been.

It is indeed said by the second principal author of the Books of Kings, that the Philistines 'felt the hand of Jahveh' all the days of Samuel.¹ But this can be taken only as a general expression, allowable in such a brief survey as is here given by this author. It is quite possible that in the days of Samuel the Philistines may for a considerable time have kept quieter; but how little the danger threatening from that quarter was really averted, is shown by certain facts relating to this period which come to light in the history of the commencement of Saul's reign. It here appears that the Philistines had a permanent camp near Michmash on the eastern slope of the mountain-range towards the southern Jordan,² thus virtually commanding the country; and at Gibeah, not far to the south-west of Michmash, they had an official who could serve only to collect the tribute payable to them.³ Indeed they compelled the Hebrews of the conquered districts to serve in their own armies against Israel, or as much of Israel as still remained free or took up arms.⁴ While they thus drew levies from one portion of Israel for their own service, on the other portion they had imposed the hard condition of bearing no arms, and delivering up even the smiths and other makers of weapons.⁵ Such signs point clearly to a lasting subjugation of large districts. The rise of monarchy in Israel, taking the Philistines by surprise, may soon have interrupted the truce, and excited to violent hostilities against Israel, but this entire state of things cannot possibly have had its first origin under Saul. We must rather admit what is unmistakably true, that after the days of Samson (p. 171) a great part of Israel paid tribute to the Philistines, and could hope for nothing better than to prolong a truce on conditions not too dishonourable to be borne. The victories of Eli and Samuel could hardly obtain more than such bearable truces, with a rate of tribute not too high; and even these were not lasting. Even during Samuel's Judgeship the

¹ 1 Sam. vii. 13.

² 1 Sam. xiii. 11 sqq.

³ 1 Sam. x. 5, xiii. 4.

⁴ 1 Sam. xiv. 21. It appears from hints in Zech. xii. 2 sqq., that a similar occurrence took place at a late period, during

the last attacks upon Jerusalem under the monarchy before its destruction.

⁵ 1 Sam. xiii. 19-21. It would seem however from Judges v. 8, that a similar tyranny was also practised in the period before Deborah's victory.

fruits of his victories must have been again lost; while at the same time the Ammonites, who had rallied after the victories of Jephthah (p. 108 sq.), renewed their pressure from the north-east. In fact we see plainly from one indication,¹ that the earlier of the chief narrators must have explained the rise of the monarchy from the great distress which the Philistines had once more brought upon the people.

We cannot accuse Samuel of weakness on that account; he was above all things a Prophet; and just as we see that Moses never had recourse to arms but in the last resort (p. 12), so Samuel might still less consider warfare his nearest duty, since to compel the people to arms by no means fell within the competency even of a Judge. But another reason was now added, of which we are briefly informed by the second of the chief narrators.² The two sons, Joel and Abijah, whom Samuel in advancing years had made his assistants in the judicial office, the one in Bethel for the north, the other in Beersheba for the south, if not so depraved as the sons of Eli, were yet sufficiently so to provoke complaints from the people who sought justice at their hands.

If then even under Samuel, towards his latter years, the office of Judge proved externally and internally too weak, and inefficient for permanent security, the time was at last come when the people must either submit to some more complete human authority, and thus, though with many sacrifices, renovate their existing institutions, or else fall into hopeless decay. Even the noblest and most spiritually-gifted human instrument that could be produced or indeed tolerated by the ancient constitution, in whom centred all its purest powers, could no longer adequately resist the evergrowing weight of evil. What hope then of deliverance within the limits of this ancient constitution?

But the basis for the right solution of this complication of centuries was already present, though unacknowledged; and rarely in history has a terrible complication been so easily ended by the unravelling of all its seemingly hopeless tangles. Amid the pressure of the evergrowing confusion of all the ancient elements of order, there had been fashioned during the last century a new people, spiritually strengthened first by the mys-

¹ 1 Sam. ix. 16 points to a circumstantial account now lost to us of the renewed Philistine ascendancy in Samuel's latter days, in the usual full and graphic manner of the principal narrator.

² 1 Sam. viii. 1-3. That one son was in Bethel, is mentioned only by Josephus *Ant.* vi. 3. 2; but it is so suitable that it

must have come to him from some better text of the Books of Kings; it is omitted even by the LXX. For Joel in 1 Sam. viii. 2 and 1 Chron. vi. 18, 1 Chron. vi. 13 has erroneously יוֹאֵל; the name Joel which has here dropped out, should be restored, and then we must read יוֹאֵל

terious power of the Vow, and finally by Samuel's great Prophetic power. And to a nation which like Israel then makes of its school of suffering a school of virtue, and thence blooms forth into new and vigorous life, what is impossible? From the band of those who were braced by the force of the Vow, there comes forth at last that most spiritual of all the Judges, who accepted the Judgeship only as a Prophet for the people's welfare, and possesses the true heroism exhibited in laying it down again for the people's sake when convinced by clear Divine monition, and in bending all his powers to put the new constitution on its right basis. There is now at length this advantage, that all possible forms of incomplete sovereignty have been already tried and exhausted; thus facilitating the introduction of the true and complete form, which Abimelech had anticipated in blind impatience more than a century before (p. 161).

Samuel is the last hero of the period of the Judges. Such a last hero sometimes arises in various times and nations, to be remembered as an honourable token of that final destruction of an existing people or kingdom, which he struggled against without being able to avert. The second period of the history of Israel concludes thus with Jeremiah as its last great yet unsuccessful champion. But in Samuel we behold a hero in whom culminated the growth of many centuries, and whose rare felicity it was to introduce by his own powerful sympathy a new era of more rapid movement and fuller development, in a government and people still the same; and after he had been all-powerful in Israel, to receive a still higher distinction as the spiritual father of a people worthy of him, and aspiring like him after new and better times.

APPENDIX.



A SHORT DISSERTATION

ON

THE TRUE PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIVINE NAME

יהוה

(JAHVEH, JEHOVAH)

BY THE EDITOR.

APPENDIX.

ON THE DIVINE NAME יהוה (JAHVEH, JEHOVAH).

§ 1. THE VOWELS are, as a general rule, not written in Hebrew, nor in the cognate Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic languages. Only the long vowels were sometimes indicated, *ō* and *ū* by ם *v*, and *ē* and *ī* by ך *y*; which actually introduced a new element of uncertainty, since each of these letters is susceptible of two vowel and one consonantal sound. The letter ה *h* was also employed to designate the final vowel (*a*, *e*, or *o*) of words ending in a vowel. It will be observed that this system closely resembles modern systems of shorthand, which disregard the vowels except where they are important from their length or essential for distinction.

§ 2. So long as the language lived, this system was sufficient; but when it began to die out, and the pronunciation of the vowels especially was endangered, it became necessary to note these also, if the correct pronunciation, or any approximation to it, was to be maintained. But a consonantal alphabet was already in habitual use, and could not easily be superseded. The most natural mode of indicating the vowels was to append to the consonantal letters preceding them dots and other small marks (generally beneath, in one instance above). Thus (reading from right to left) למך *Imch*, למךך *Lamech*, כהן *chn*, כהןן *cohen*. And this mode of noting the vowels cannot have been adopted by mere accident, since it is in itself peculiarly adapted (as cannot be fully shown here) to the genius of the Hebrew and other Semitic languages, and appears in them all alike, even where borrowing is very unlikely.

§ 3. The Divine name was יהוה *Jhv̄h*.¹ What vowels must be attached to these consonants to restore the old pronunciation?

The name יהוה had from the first been treated as preeminently sacred. As the sign of a Covenant between God and his people, it was reserved for use between them, and not employed in speech to the heathen nor heard on heathen lips. From this point it not unnaturally gradually so advanced in sanctity that Hebrews themselves would not utter

¹ Throughout this essay, as in the proper names in the English Bible generally, *j* represents the Hebrew ך, which is however sounded as *y*. יהוה is therefore properly *yhv̄h*. An inverted comma (') here represents the peculiar guttural letter ך, and a simple comma (,) the ך or spiritus lenis.

only form possible if 'Jehovah' were read, we always find יהוה written. This can only be intended to be read בְּאֵדוֹנַי bəʾădonaj, since the vowel of the prefix בְּ bə can only be produced by the influence of a following guttural like the א of אֲדֹנִי.

c.) The Greek translation of the Seventy from its antiquity affords even more important testimony than the Hebrew punctuators of a later date. This always renders יהוה by κύριος, which is the literal translation of אֲדֹנִי, but cannot possibly be intended to represent יהוה, which is a *proper name*, as is seen by the absence of the article, by its inability to take a genitive after it, or a possessive pronoun with it, and by many other grammatical circumstances.

§ 5. The points attached to יהוה, then, so far from indicating its pronunciation, were put expressly to prevent its being pronounced at all, and to order the substitution of another word. Had it been otherwise, we should still have been in doubt about its pronunciation; since not only the form יהוה Jehovah, but also יהוה Jehovih occurs, as has been shown. This is not the only instance in which the punctuators have constantly affixed to a word vowel-points which belong to another. The pronoun הוּא hu *he* is sometimes written when the feminine *she* is required. In these instances it is always pointed הוּא, in order that the usual feminine form הִיא hi may be substituted.

§ 6. יהוה is therefore in the position of an unpointed word; all that is given us is *Jvh*, and we have to discover what vowels are to be inserted, and where, to make out of this skeleton the original word. It is safest here to argue mainly from analogy, i.e. from the observed capabilities of the Hebrew tongue; and to reserve for subsequent mention whatever historical testimony exists worth recording. The argument will be most clearly presented under the following heads:

a.) The name is first formally proclaimed to the people by Moses (Ex. vi.), and therefore belongs to the early ages of the nation and the language. Now these early ages exhibit a peculiar formation of men's names, which became rare in the Postmosaic period, and extinct under the Monarchy. These names are formed directly from the imperfect (future) tense of verbs, retaining the prefixed 'j', which is the characteristic of that tense. Thus from יִצְחָק jits-chāk, *he laughs*, יַעֲקֹב ja'ākob, *he trips up*, יוֹסֵף joseph, *he adds*, יִפְתָּח jiphtāch, *he opens*, are derived the names יִצְחָק Jits-chāk, *Isaac*, יַעֲקֹב Ja'ākob, *Jacob*, יוֹסֵף Joseph, יִפְתָּח Jiphtāch, *Jephthah*. The roots of these names are therefore צַחֵק ts-ch-k, עַקֵּב k-b, וִסֵּף v-s-p, פִּתַּח p-t-ch. The form יהוה must almost of necessity be formed in analogy to these. In that case its root is הוּה h-v-h, which appears in many grammatical forms as identical with הִי h-j-h to be. It is therefore one of the large class of roots called ה"ה, or having ה as third radical. The derivatives of these roots are formed with extreme uniformity, and both the imperfect tense and the derived nouns and adjectives take the vowel ē in the last syllable; thus we must have יהוה J-h-vēh. The second letter of the word, ה, if I am right in treating it as an analogous form to יִצְחָק Jitschak, &c., must be without a vowel; thus we get יהוה J-hvēh. The only point

now left open is what vowel the first syllable has. Following the analogy of יִצְחָק Jitschak, we should say יִהְוֶה Jihveh; but a guttural letter (like the ה) at the end of a syllable almost always takes the vowel *ä* before it in preference to any other, as in יַעֲקֹב Ja'ākob; and hence we obtain יִהְוֶה Jahveh. There are indeed other slightly differing possible formations:

1. יִהְוֶה Jahäveh and יִהְוֶה Jehëveh, possible because a guttural (like the ה) is peculiarly liable to take a very slight (or half) vowel instead of no vowel at all. But as the root היה h-j-h, with which our root הוה h-v-h is always assumed to be connected, treats its ה as a hard consonant and not as a guttural, and therefore makes יִהְיֶה jihjeh, not יִהְיֶה jahäjeh or יִהְיֶה jehëjeh, and as היה ch-j-h, which closely follows the conjugation of היה, also forms יִחְיֶה jichjeh, יִהְוֶה J-hveh is far more probable than יִהְוֶה J-häveh or יִהְוֶה J-hëvëh.

2. From the imperfect (future) of the verb היה h-j-h being יִהְיֶה jihjeh (with *i* in the first syllable, notwithstanding the following guttural), the form יִהְוֶה Jihvëh would be expected. It should however be remembered that the vowel of the first syllable of the imperfect is not fixed but very variable, even when a guttural follows: thus we have יִחְזַק jechëzak, but יַחֲזִק jachälom; יִהְגֶּה jehgeh, but יִהְפֹּחַ jahäphoch. Still, the prefix of the imperfect of the verb and that of the derived noun is certainly generally if not always the same. On this head, therefore, we have some argument in favour of יִהְוֶה Jihveh as against יִהְוֶה Jahveh. Taken by itself, this would lend probability to the former; but it is not of sufficient force to disprove the latter against other and stronger evidence: below, *b.*) and *c.*). See however § 9.

b.) But the Divine name, besides standing alone as a distinct word, also enters into composition with other words to form men's names, like *Apollō* in the Greek *Apollodorus*. It occurs both as a prefix and as an affix. As a prefix it assumes the form יְהוֹ Jëho, contracted in later times into יוֹ Jo: יְהוֹנָתָן Jehonathan, יוֹנָתָן Jonathan, יְהוֹשָׁפָט Jehoshaphat (Joshaphat), יְהוֹיָכִים Jehojakim (Jojakim). As an affix it is originally יְהוּ Jahu, but contracted almost ad libitum into יָה, and even יִי Jirmëjahu, יִיִּי Jirmëjah (Jeremiah); and similarly אֱלִיָּהוּ 'Elijjahu, 'Elijjah; מִיכָיָהוּ Michajahu, or מִיכָיְהוּ Michajëhu, מִיכָיָה Michajah, and even מִיכָה Michah; עֲבַדְיָהוּ 'Obadjahu ('Obadiah), otherwise pronounced עֲבַדְיָה 'Abdijjah (LXX. Ἀβδίας), עֲבָדִי 'Abdi. One curious instance is יְהוֹיָכִין Jëhojachin, Jojachin, also called (by inversion of the component parts) יְהוֹיָכִין Jëchönjahu (Jechönjah), and כְּנִיָּהוּ Conjahu. Now the form of the name יְהוה from which these contractions *Jahu*, *Jah*, *Jëho*, and *Jë* are most easily deducible, is יִהְוֶה Jahveh. By an apocope of the final vowel usual in verbs whose third radical is ה, the full form יִהְוֶה Jahveh would at the end contract with perfect regularity into יְהוּ Jahu.¹ At the beginning, on the other hand, the vowel *a* must be shortened into *ä* and produce the form יְהוֹ Jëho.² The form יִהְוֶה Jihveh could not easily yield the affixed form יְהוּ Jahu.

¹ Compare יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה from וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה זְכַרְיָהוּ Zëcharjahu; נָתַן nathan, at the

² As זָכַר zachar, at the beginning of נִתְחַנְּנָהוּ Nëthanjahu.

c.) But the name itself, when standing alone, is liable to abbreviation into the form יה Jah, which, fortunately for us, was not treated as too sacred for utterance, and therefore has its own vowel preserved. It occurs not unfrequently, especially in the later Psalms. It is scarcely explicable from any other form of name than יהוה Jahveh, but from that it is seen to be a not unnatural contraction; especially when the use of the word as an affix in the abbreviated form יהו Jahu and יה Jah is considered. This form pleads strongly for *a* as the vowel of the first syllable of יהוה.

§ 7. Thus we are led by various lines of argument to regard the form יהוה Jahveh as the most probable. But to bring the issue within as narrow limits as possible, I must say a few words as to the forms that are not possible.

a.) The last syllable cannot be יה ah. This termination is confined to feminine nouns and adjectives. To סוס *sūs* horse corresponds סוּסָה *sūsah* mare. The masculine nouns or adjectives derived from לָהּ (whose third radical is ה) described above (§ 6. a) as always ending in יה־ֶה, form their feminines by exchanging this יה־ֶה for יה־ֶהֶה: thus we have *m.* קָצֶה *katsēh*, *f.* קָצָה *katsāh*; [הָרָה] *f.* הָרָהֶה *harāh*; *m.* מוֹרָה *mōrēh*, *f.* מוֹרָהֶה *mōrāh*. The termination יה־ֶהֶה is therefore strictly reserved for feminines, whether the ה be radical or not.¹ It may, I think, be fearlessly asserted that the highest name of the special God and Protector of Israel could not have a feminine form.² He is *a priori* more likely to be designated by an epithet—the Eternal, Brilliant, Mighty, Father, King, or something of that nature, which must be masculine, than by a figure—Heaven, Light, Lion, Eagle, &c., which alone could be feminine.

b.) It is difficult to imagine any mode of formation which would give

¹ מוֹרָה *mōrāh*, *razor*, is indeed used as masc., but (unless an incorrect mode of writing מוֹרָה, or something else) must surely be properly fem. The nouns in ח, like קֶשֶׁת *kēshēth*, נְחֹשֶׁת *nēchoshēth*, which sometimes pass into the masc. gender, are not to the point, since the final ח becomes so welded to the root as even to be treated like a radical letter, and therefore lose its power of expressing an accident (the fem. gender). There are many masc. proper names in יה־ֶה, a list of which is given by Mr. F. Chance in the *Athenæum*, No. 2119 (1868) p. 796; but they fall chiefly under the following heads:

1. Compound names, in which the second element happens to be fem.: Aholibamah, properly בְּחֵלִי בָמָה *Ōhōli bamah* = 'My tent a high place.'

2. Names clearly descriptive, where the noun used happens to be fem.: as יוֹנָה *Jonah* = 'dove.' A Roman noble family had the name *Asina* (not *Asinus*).

3. Names in which the יה־ֶהֶה is a contraction of the affixed יהוה *Jahu*, יה־ֶה *Jah*, as יִמְרָה *Jimrah* for יִמְרֵיהָ *Jimrejah*, (like מִיכָה *Michah* for מִיכָיִה *Michajah*, see § 6. b).

4. Names of foreigners, Edomites, and others, which are not properly Hebrew at all.

5. Names in which the form in יה־ֶהֶה is only a shortened or secondary one: thus בִּלְגָה *Bilgah* and אֶפְחָה *Ephah* stand respectively for בִּלְגַי *Bilgai* and אֶפְחַי *Ephai*, which also occur.

6. Names which belong more properly to nations than to individuals, and therefore are regularly fem. יהוּדָה *Jehudah*, Judah, is of this class; see next note but one.

² I am glad to have for this the authority of J. Buxtorf the younger, who said, 'Haud esse conveniens majestati divinæ ut nomen ipsius in terminationem exeat femininam.'—*De Nom. Dei*, § 20, rat. 1.

to the second letter ה *h* a vowel. None, certainly, from the root יהוה. And although from a root יהו jhv (were the existence of such a root to be assumed) an adjective יהו jaho might be regularly formed, yet the final ה would appear only in its feminine יהוה; but we have seen reason to reject all purely feminine forms (§ 7. a). There remains one possibility, which Mr. F. Chance appears inclined to seize. Supposing there be a root יוה jvh, a derivative verb of causative force (called *Hiphil*) might be formed from it, of which the imperfect (future) would be properly יוה jovëh, but might be expanded into יהוה jëhovëh; from this tense the Divine name might be *Jehoveh*, or (as he contends) *Jehovah*. To this the most generally intelligible objection is that both reason and the ancient belief of the Hebrews (Ex. iii.) sanction the derivation from יהוה=היה and the meaning of the *Existing, Eternal*, than which we could find nothing more natural or satisfactory; that, resting satisfied in this, we feel no temptation to relinquish this firm basis of fact for a hypothetical root and a very questionable mode of formation from it, with no well-grounded signification as the result of the process.¹

§ 8. The form *Jehovah*, therefore, must be treated as impossible. It plainly arose through oblivion of the proper vowels to be attached to the consonants יהוה, and a belief thence arising that the vowel-points attached to the word really belonged to it. That the Jews, who never ceased to use their Scriptures in Hebrew, could have fallen into this oblivion, or rather this gross ignorance of the meaning of the mode of writing the Supreme Name, is not credible. It is the Christians who made the confusion, from ignorance of the Jewish devices of writing. But the name JEHOVAH, so written and pronounced, is not so old as would probably be supposed. It was probably first so written in Roman characters and the corresponding pronunciation suggested, though hardly sanctioned,² by Petrus Columna Galatinus, in his *Opus*

¹ The imperfect (future) *Hiphil* of יהו would be יוה joveh, not יהוה jëhovëh. The latter form, which retains the original ה of the prefix uncontracted with the י, only appears in the latest forms of Hebrew and in Chaldee; so much so indeed as to afford one of the best criteria for deciding the date of a book or a passage. The name derived from it in the early age should therefore be יוה Joveh, and only in much later times would יהוה Jëhovëh, naturally appear. Yet what is the fact? יהו never appeared in any age whatever, but only יהוה. Moreover, when a contraction of this form was adopted, it was not the ה, but the final ו, that was thrown out, leaving יה Jah (with the guttural א at the end). But this shows the importance of the letter ה to the word, and forces us to regard it as a radical, not a prefix. Mr. Chance adduces as a parallel formation the word יהודה Jëhu-

dah, afterwards contracted into יהודה Ju-dah, which is usually (and with Biblical authority, Gen. xlix. 8) derived from the root ידה, Hoph. perf. יהודה, imperf. יהודה, or expanded יהודה, with the passive sense given by the Hophal, *the Praised*. But is either of these words sufficiently certain in its etymology to add any strength to the other? Certainly יהוה cannot confirm יהודה, because all independent evidence goes to prove that there is no יהוה, but יהוה or something similar. And the vaguely eulogistic sense assigned to the name יהודה forces me to regard the Biblical etymologist here with more than usual suspicion. I might moreover adduce the Chaldee form יהודה as pointing to a Hebrew יהודה, fam. יהודה, which would come from a root יהוה, not ידה.

² 'Sed sic omnino debet et scribi et pronunciari (si tamen pronunciandum est),'

de arcanis catholicæ veritatis, in A.D. 1516.¹ Thence it has passed into ordinary use in English and other modern languages. Yet, as it is studiously avoided in our Bibles (except of course in Ex. vi. 3, where it is essential), rarely heard in prayers, and indeed in general has by no means become familiar and naturalised, it seems possible to restore even now the true name of the God of the Hebrews in writing their history.

§ 9. But we are not left to discover the derivation of יהוה from the root הוה for ourselves. The writer of Ex. iii. 14 himself gives us the etymology as he understands it, ascribing to the root the idea of *becoming, being*, and identifying it with ה'י: 'And God said to Moses I am *he who is* ;² and he said, Thus shalt thou say to the sons of Israel : *He who is* has sent me to you'—he who is, i.e. the (ever) Existing, the Eternal. Many, if not most, of the etymological explanations of names in the Old Testament are against the rules of language,³ or otherwise forced and absurd;⁴ and we are therefore not bound to accept this. Ewald suggests something different in *History of Israel* i. p. 580 [2d ed.

Génébrard, the Benedictine Archbishop of Aix, a noted Hebraist of the middle of the sixteenth century, observes on the passage where Diodorus mentions the Jewish god, Jao: 'Conatus est exprimere tetragrammatum, sed satis incommode. Nam literæ quidem ad hunc sonum [Jao] inflecti possunt, ut *ad illum quem hodie multi novitatis cupidi efferrunt, Jova vel Jehova*, verum aliena, imo vero irreligiosa, imperita, nova et barbara pronuntiacione, ut contra Calvinianos et Bezanos multis locis docuimus.' 'Jehovah' therefore was the form adopted by innovators, and was a 'foreign, nay even irreligious, ignorant, new, and barbarous pronuntiacion ;' and the Apostles and the ancients generally, he says further, would not have even known what the word meant. He attributes this innovation to Sanctes Pagninus (born 1466), 'qui vocem peregrinam Jehova primus confinxit ac irreligiosa profansque novitate novatores istos [apparently the Calvinists] imbuunt.' I do not, however, find anything in his treatment of the Name in his 'Thesaurus Linguae Sanctæ' 1529, to substantiate this charge. Génébrard himself says that 'either the true pronuntiacion is lost . . . or it is *Ihvé* or *Jahvé*.' J. Drusius decides for *Jahavé*, contracted later into *Jave* (Ta86).

¹ Mr. Chance (l. c.), indeed, objects to this: 'If the form Jehovah originated with a Christian only 300 years ago, how is it that the Jewish tradition is in favour of this form, as I am assured it is by Dr. Schiller-Szinessy, a Jewish Rabbi, and teacher of Rabbinical and Talmudical Hebrew to the University of Cambridge?' In No. 2123, however, Mr. Chance speaks

of the Jews as 'being forbidden to pronounce, and, according to the Talmud, even to think of the name *Jhvh*,' which sounds inconsistent with a strong opinion how to pronounce it. As to the assertion concerning Jewish tradition, it runs so counter to the statements of the weightiest authorities on the subject, that I can only suppose some misunderstanding between Mr. Chance and his Rabbi, and at any rate cannot confide in it till supported by some tangible evidence.

² אֲנִי ה'י אֶשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה, literally 'I am he who *am*,' the first person in the relative clause being occasioned by the fact that its subject, the relative pronoun, refers back to a first person pronoun, as in Ex. xx. 2; see Knobel on Ex. iii. 14. To render it quite clear that this sentence is the definition of his nature, Jahveh then quotes from it, and says (still retaining the first person in speaking of himself), 'אֲנִי ה'י (*he who is*) has sent me to you.' The LXX. understand this quite correctly: 'Εγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν. . . Ὁ ὢν ἀπεσταλμένος πρὸς δούλους.'

³ E.g. that of Moses in Ex. ii. 10, as 'drawn out of the water,' which would require a passive form; whereas מִצְרָה (if it be Hebrew at all, and from the root מִצָּה) is the active participle, and might mean *the drawer-out, deliverer* (out of Egypt).

⁴ E.g. that of Samuel in 1 Sam. i. 20: as if שְׁמוּעָה were שְׁמוּעָה *exauditus a Deo*; those of Jacob's sons in Gen. xxix, xxx, &c.

ii. p. 157] note 3. But the difference of opinion that can legitimately exist affects the meaning to be ascribed to the root rather than the mode of formation from it. Of this at least the Biblical etymologist has a perfectly correct apprehension, and it is difficult to imagine a Hebrew misconceiving so very obvious and ordinary a formation.

The original interpretation in Exodus is given again in Rev. i. 4: χάρις ὑμῖν . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ ὧν καὶ ὃ ἦν καὶ ὃ ἐρχόμενος; ib. 8: ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός, ὁ ὧν καὶ ὃ ἦν καὶ ὃ ἐρχόμενος. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* v. p. 666, Oxon.), again, says that the mystic name is 'Iaού, 'which is interpreted who is and who will be;' and Epiphanius (*Adv. Hær.* 20) calls 'Iaβέ 'he who was and is and always is; as he interprets it to Moses, "thou shalt say to them, *He who is sent me;*"' Theodoret (*Quæst.* 15 in *Exod.*) also interprets 'Ia (יֵא) 'the Lord, or him *who is.*' In other words, the idea of Being is in this name to be understood without limitation of time. This is characteristic of the imperfect tense from which it is derived; and similarly Isaac קִיץ, the Laughing, Cheerful, is not he who once laughed or once laughs, but he who 'was and is and will be' laughing. In the Divine name, therefore, the idea of Being becomes intensified into that of Eternity. This fact, which the Greek interpreters had expressed by the use of the three tenses, past, present, and future, has given rise among the Jews to the notion that the very word יהוה has been put together out of the three tenses: הָיָה *he was*, הוּא *he is*, יִהְיֶה *he will be*. As a philological idea this is beneath criticism. Languages are not so formed, nor are words the senseless agglomerations of letters requisite in a memoria technica. Still, they herein taught a truth, and an old traditional one, though by illegitimate devices.

But though the derivation from the root הוה *to be*, be established, yet there is at least one other mode of derivation, and one other sense, which ought also to be considered. To every verb in Hebrew a derivative having a causative sense is possible. Thus from הוה we might have the causative (Hiphil), perf. הִהְיֶה hihveh, imperf. יִהְיֶה jahveh. From the latter a name of identical sound might be formed, the meaning of which would be 'he who causes to be, creates,' i.e. not the Creator as one who *once* created the world, but as constantly creating, moulding, new-forming. If we may adopt this explanation, the difficulty about the vowel of the first syllable, which was felt at § 6. a. 2, disappears. We obtain an epithet for God which has probably existed in all times and countries, and to which the Hebrews attached especial importance. If we may extend the idea of this constant creating so as to include the moulding, fashioning, or educating Israel to be his son, of which the later Isaiah so often and so eloquently speaks, the name may even seem to be taken by the Hebrews' God with special appositeness at this moment; since this was the time when that relation of father and son commenced, and was ratified by the Covenant at Mount Sinai. This derivation and signification are suggested by Gesenius, and preferred to the other by Fürst and Lagarde. I should be glad on grammatical grounds to agree with them, but it is to me impossible so

completely to set aside the testimony of antiquity, and the belief of every writer from the author of Exodus to the Fathers of the fifth century, that the mystic name denoted the *Existing*. And moreover the Hebrews attached a higher, more solemn meaning to eternal existence than to creative energy. In Rev. i. 8, God is called 'the Alpha and the Omega,' 'the beginning and the end,' 'he who is, and who was, and who is coming'—three epithets signifying eternity, which are followed by one only 'the almighty' indicating power. I believe, therefore, that we must still regard יְהוָה as derived from יָהַה the original (or *Kal*) verb, and not from its derivative causative (or Hiphil) יְהַה.

§ 10. It would be of course of the highest importance to obtain direct historical testimony to the pronunciation of the Name. But there are obvious reasons why historical testimony of the highest authority is here impossible. From the date of the Septuagint at all events the name was not pronounced, but the term 'the Lord' was substituted. The question how to speak an unspeakable word could not even arise. The only exception to the disuse of the name would seem to be found in the tradition that once a year on the day of Atonement, in the Holy of Holies, the High Priest did call God by his sacred name, and that its true pronunciation was for this purpose transmitted from one High Priest to another, but without divulgence to others. It is therefore useless to look to Hebrew writers for information, and Josephus gives no hint. Diodorus, however (50 B.C.), mentions (i. 94) the God called 'Iaō as giving laws to the Jews through Moses. Christian writers, however, of the first four or five centuries, give evidence which is worth considering, and has some intrinsic value. Irenæus (born about 120 A.D.) is perhaps the earliest. He (*Adv. Hær.* i. 4) gives the form 'Iaō as used by the Gnostics. Clement of Alexandria (died 217 A.D.) has this curious passage (*Strom.* v. p. 666, Oxon.): 'But there is also that four-lettered mystic name, which was bound round those to whom alone the ἄδύρον was accessible; it is called 'Iaού, which is interpreted "He who is and who will be."' Epiphanius (lived 310–403) mentions (*Adv. Hær.* 20) among the names of God, 'Iá [ἰά] as meaning Κύριος, and 'Iaβέ as meaning ὃς ἦν καὶ ἔστι καὶ αἰεὶ ὢν, to which he adds, as if to ensure our identifying this with יהוה in Ex. vi. 3, 'as he interprets it to Moses, &c.' Theodoret (lived 387–458 A.D.) says in his commentary on the passage in Exodus, 'It is written by the four letters, and is therefore called τετραγράμμυον. The Samaritans call it 'Iaβέ, but the Jews 'Aïá [for which we must read with another MS. 'Iá, Heb. יָה]'. That Theodoret read Hebrew is shown by many passages besides this: on Ps. cx. he says of *Hallelujah*, 'For ἀλληλού means αἰνεῖτε, and 'Ia, Κύριον ἢ τὸν ὄντα.' It is remarkable that he is not satisfied with the explanation Κύριον, as a reader of the LXX. would be, but adds ἢ τὸν ὄντα. Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* i. 9) speaks of Sanchoniathon as having received information from a priest of 'Ιενώ. The *Breviarium in Psalterium* on Ps. viii, falsely ascribed to St. Jerome, says the name 'may be read IAHO;' but this evidence is worthless, partly because the book is spurious, and partly

because of the vague language (*legi potest* IAHO), which indicates doubt or indifference in the writer.

Among these writers we easily detect the later very common abbreviation יה, which is ascribed by Theodoret specially to the Jews, while he attributes 'Iaβé (יהֶבֶה) to the Samaritans. Epiphanius, however, gives us both forms, and without distinction of nationality; indeed by saying that 'Iaβé was the word explained to Moses by God himself, he shows it to be in his judgment the original Hebrew name. And we may well believe that when the abbreviation Jah had become popular with the Jews (to whom it was not, like יהוה, an ἀββήρον), the form יהֶבֶה might remain with the Samaritans, and thus account for Theodoret's distinction. These two most explicit statements strikingly corroborate our own independent conclusions. Clement's form 'Iaού exactly agrees with the abbreviated form of יהֶבֶה, יה, which is found as a prefix to proper names. Lastly, the form 'Iaω or Jaho, may represent this same abbreviation, or like San-choniathon's 'Ievō (יהוה) *Jehvoh*) it may be a foreign pronunciation; let it be observed that it is attributed to the Gnostics and Phœnicians. None of these forms seem to lend themselves in the slightest degree to the confirmation of 'Jehovah.'

§ 11. If it be urged that, according to my own showing, the pronunciation *Jahveh* is only the most probable, but by no means certain as to both its syllables, we may admit the fact, but retort that, whatever be right, *Jehovah* is certainly wrong in fact and produced through ignorance only; since it adopts the vowels which were never intended for that word at all; whereas on the other hand *Jahveh* must be either exactly or very nearly correct. The difference of sound between the forms *Jahveh*, *Jahdveh*, *Jehveh*, *Jehëveh*, *Jihveh*, is extremely slight: but between *Jehōvah* (with the long vowel after the *h*) on the one hand, and those five forms (where the *h* has either no vowel or else the very shortest possible) on the other, there is all the difference in the world; and any one who is convinced that the first is impossible, does better to risk any of the five latter, than to let the first stand.¹

§ 12. In English the name is best written *Jahveh*. The *j* ought in this, as in all Biblical names, properly to be pronounced *y*. With wonderful inconsistency this is understood in the one word *Hallelu-Jah*, but ignored in all others, Jesus, Jacob, Joseph, &c. The first *h*

¹ So in Latin, if we could not be sure whether the plural of *liber* was *liberi* or *libri*, it would surely be better to take either of these than to say *liberi*. So Reland (*Decas Exercit.* preface) was convinced of the barbarism of the form *Jehovah*, and through doubt of the true pronunciation adopted in reading its substitute *Adonai*, and observes, 'At qua specie, precor, nova illa lectio [Adonai] dici potest, quæ semper in ecclesia Christiana usitata fuit, quam Christus ipse, quam Apostoli (qui nulla nomina hominibus propria in sermonibus suis et scriptis

mutare solent, et hoc tamen Deo soli proprium nomen, יהוה, nunquam *Jehova*, quod potuissent, et jure quis ab iis expectasset, sed per *Képor*, i. e. יהֶבֶה efferre consueverunt), quam sacri Codicis interpretes, alique scriptores ad unum omnes secuti sunt, donec vix duobus abhinc sæculis nonnulli et sibi et aliis persuadere conati sunt, puncta vocalia, quæ ipsi Judæi (quorum maxime intererat hoc depositum cœlestis tueri et de eo gloriari) aliunde esse desumpta uno ore clamant, esse vera puncta nominis יהוה, contra omnes omnino rationes grammaticas?'

should be slightly aspirated. The final *h* is silent as in all Hebrew words (not specially marked out to be aspirated), such as *Manasseh*, *Mizpeh*, *Hannah*. In *Jahveism*, *Jahveist* (which latter ought to be used instead of *Jehovist*), the final *h* should be dropped, since the *h* is silent in Hebrew only at the end of the word, and is therefore omitted when another syllable is appended, which brings the *h* into the middle of the word. In English also, if we wrote *Jahvehism*, there would be a strong temptation to pronounce it *Jahve-hism*, which is barbarous.

§ 13. It ought to be remarked that the pronunciation of the word by modern readers and speakers cannot be regulated entirely by a conviction of what is right. All classical scholars know that the Latin *j* is properly *y*, yet how few have the courage to innovate so far as to speak *Yupiter* instead of *Jupiter*! The pronunciation *Jehovah* has gained a hold among modern nations through the very free use made of it by paraphrasers of Scripture and poets, which it never would have had from the Bible, where 'the LORD' takes its place. Whether to retain 'Jehovah' as too firmly established to be uprooted, or to substitute 'Jahveh' as the correcter pronunciation, must be left to taste and good sense. Ewald does the latter, and undoubtedly wishes his readers to follow him; but those who read him can of course read 'Jahveh' as 'Jehovah' if the change is distasteful to them, or if they are not convinced by the arguments I have here brought forward.

§ 14. As the old Jewish substitute for the sacred Name has been adopted in our Bibles as *the Lord*, it is desirable to note here the injury that is done by that practice, and the importance of restoring the real Name. Jahveh is a *proper* name, and as strictly the personal name of the Hebrew God, as Jupiter, Mars or Saturn, of the Roman deities. This makes the *point* of all the passages where it is used at all emphatically, as especially frequently in the later Isaiah, e.g. Is. li. 13, 'and forgettest JAHVEH thy [Israel's] maker;' 15, 'I am JAHVEH thy God' [= Israel's special God and protector]; xlix. 23, 'that thou mayst know that I am JAHVEH' [= that I who now address thee am thine own God and protector]. And in Ps. cxliv. 15, we have בֵּרֵךְ הָעָם יְיָ אֱלֹהֵיהֶם, 'Blessed is the people whose God is Jahveh,' but the Greek and Latin versions, μακάριος ὁ λαὸς ὃν κύριος ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῦ, *Beatus populus, cujus Dominus Deus ejus*, at least look as if the substitution of the title for the name had produced an entire misapprehension, since the natural rendering (at least of the Latin) would be 'Blessed is the people whose Lord is its God,' i. e. which is ruled theocratically, by a divine and not a human sovereign. A mere title, *Lord*, carries no individuality with it, as it might be (and was) equally applied to many other beings, Divine and human; and it must therefore entail frequent confusion. Perhaps the best instance of this is the use of κύριος in the New Testament Epistles, where it is constantly ambiguous whether God or Christ is meant. So long as we retain THE LORD in the Old Testament, we cannot fully enter into the spirit of the Jahveistic religion, which contrasts JAHVEH with the heathen

gods, regarding him and them alike as actual or possible divine persons, having their distinctive personal names like men, glorying in Jahveh's power and goodness, and scorning the weakness and folly of the heathen's gods. Moreover, the phrase *the Lord God* leaves quite a false impression—the title and the name having changed places; for *God* is the epithet attached to the previous word, as is obvious when we restore *Jahveh the God*, or *God Jahveh*.

§ 15. I have here endeavoured to make the main points of the argument intelligible to readers who have no knowledge of Hebrew. Those who have some knowledge of the language, and desire a fuller exposition of the subject, should refer to the article יהוה in Gesenius' great *Thesaurus*, which is an almost exhaustive treatise, and has supplied me (as it must supply anyone who now writes on the subject) with all the chief data. Shorter articles on the same subject are contained in Gesenius' *Lexicon*, in Fürst's *Lexicon*, translated by Davidson, in Gussetius' *Lexicon*, 1743 (who contends for יהוה or יהוה); also in Winer's *Real-Encyclopädie*, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (by Wright); in Ewald's *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. 199, 291, xi. 213. Among older writers Reland's *Decas exercitationum philologicarum de vera pronuntiatione nominis Jehovah*, Utrecht 1707, 8vo., containing five treatises against the pronunciation *Jehovah* (by J. Drusius, S. Amama, L. Capellus, J. Buxtorf and J. Alting), and five for it (by N. Fuller, T. Gataker, and J. Leusden, who writes three), is the most important.

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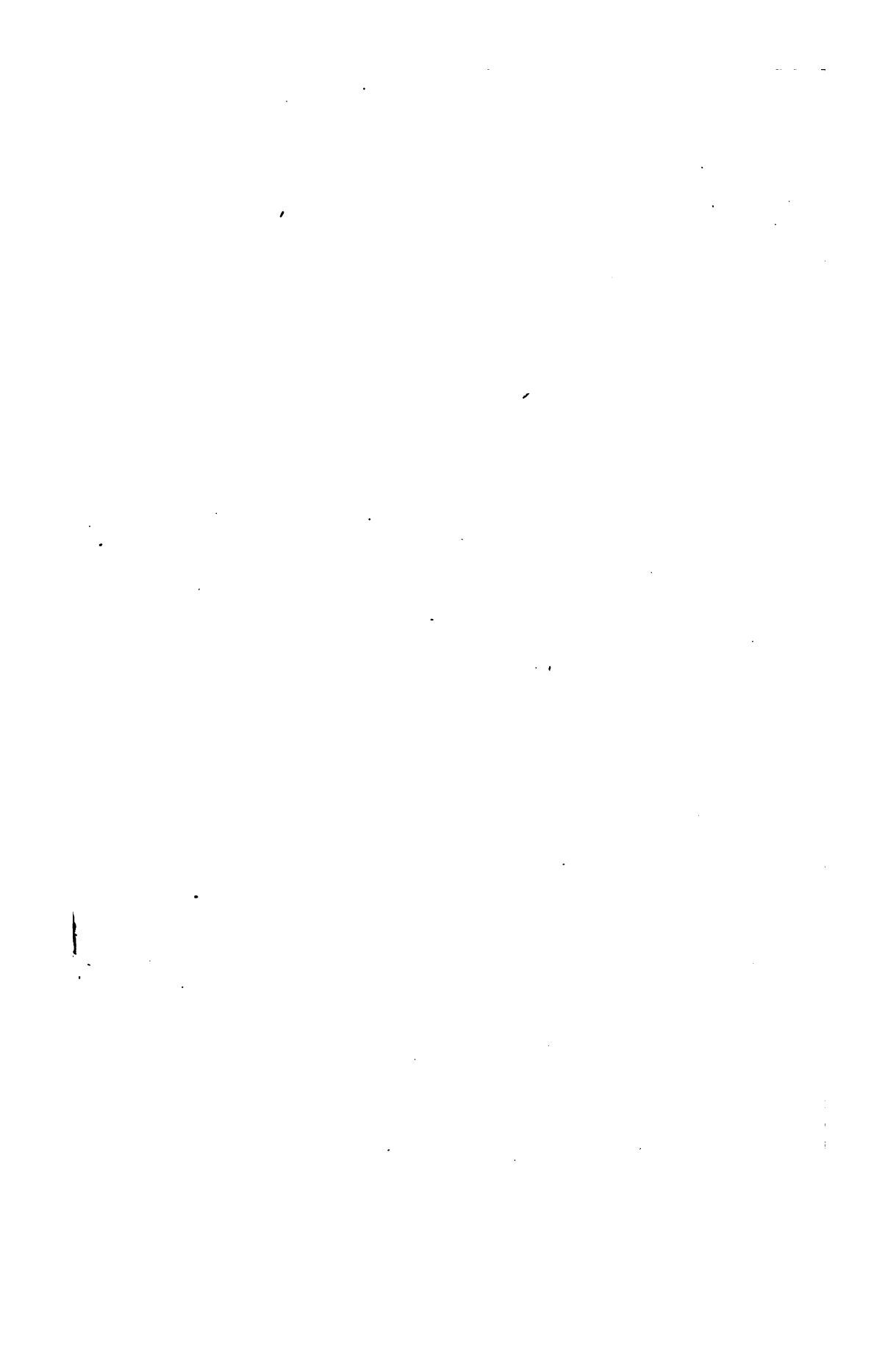
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